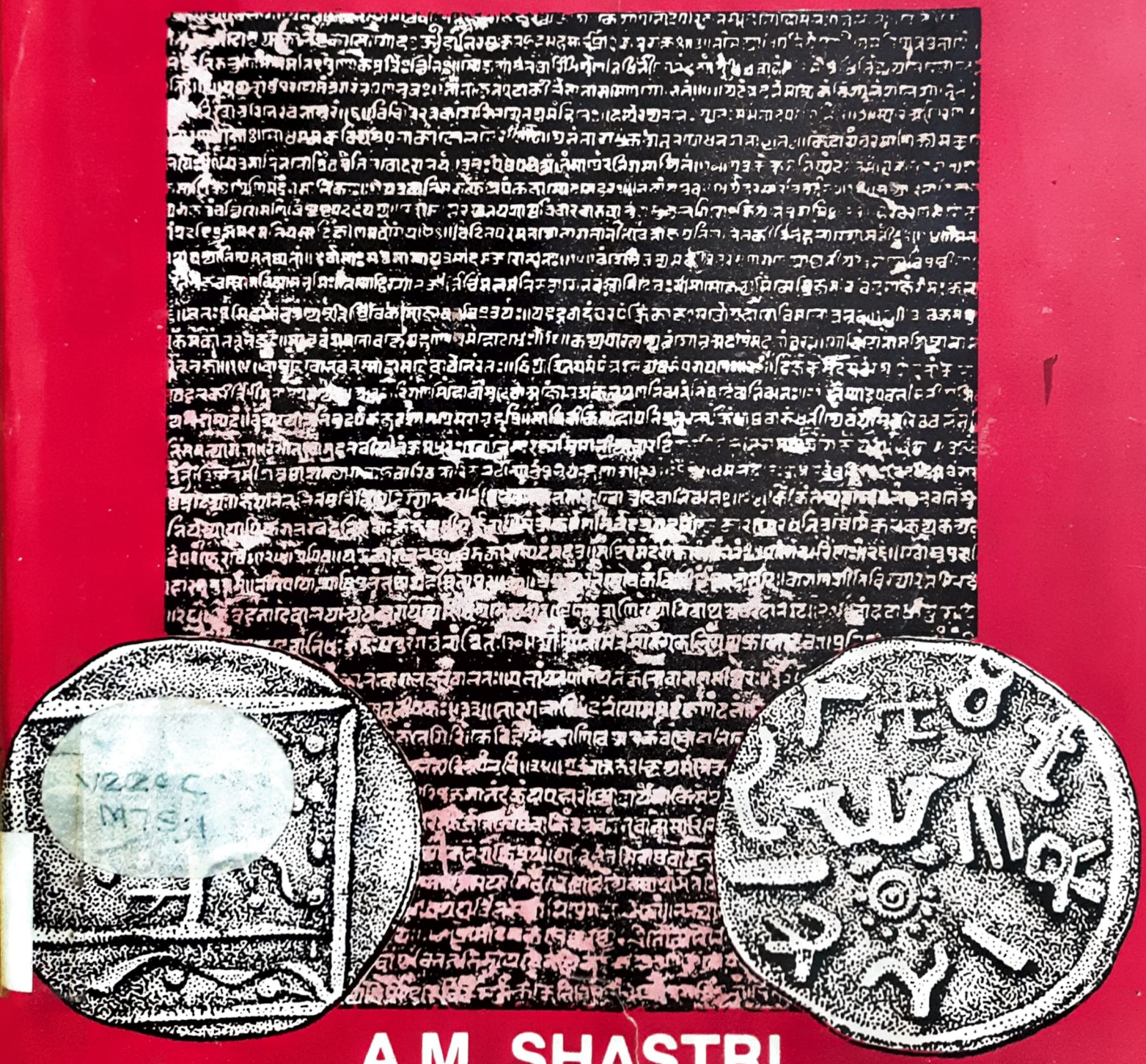
EARLY HISTORY OF THE DECCAN

PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES



A.M. SHASTRI

Students of the early history of the Deccan, specially its early phase, are faced with numerous baffling problems. Some of these problems concern the Sātavāhanas, the first autochthonous imperial power. There is thus controversy even regarding the initial period of their rule and the region under them towards the end. A few other issues concerning individual members of the dynasty are also controversial. Their successors in a part of their vast empire were the Vākāṭakas for whom the only source of our information are their numerous inscriptions. A number of epigraphs of a few of these rulers, some of them throwing welcome light on a number of problems, have been discovered in recent years. Some of these still remain unnoticed. The historical evidence afforded by some Yādava inscriptions from Ambe Jogai, though known for long, remained to be examined in a proper perspective. The contributions of Andhra Pradesh to the development of Buddhism, though known widely, also requires a consolidated evaluation. The genealogy and chronology of the Vishṇukuṇḍins, one of the most powerful ruling families of Andhra and other adjoining areas, were so far in doldrums. The case was much worse with the Maghas. Some aspects of the history of South Kosala and Orissa concerning the Śarabhapurīyas Pāṇḍavas and Somavaṁśins, particularly their chronology, fared no better. These and a few other allied issues are attacked in the present volume which brings together updated versions of some of the author's writings on the history of Deccan spanning a period of over two decades.

A deep study of the numismatic, archaeological and epigraphic evidence aided by a sound knowledge of Sanskrit and proper utilisation of Sanskritic-Prakritic sources forms the basis of these writings which would, hopefully, be found valuable and thought-stirring by serious students of the subject.

SUNDEEP
Rs 700.00

EARLY HISTORY OF THE DECCAN
PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES

EARLY HISTORY OF THE DECCAN
PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

SUNDEEP PRAKASHAN
DELHI

First Published in 1987
© **Ajay Mitra Shastri**

ISBN-81-85067-06-6

Published by:
SUNDEEP PRAKASHAN
B-3/53, Ashok Vihar,
Phase II, Delhi-110052 (INDIA)

Printed in India at:
PRINT INDIA
A-38/2, Phase I,
Mayapuri, New Delhi-110064

To

Dr. Ishwar Chandra and *Dr. S.S. Badrinath*

Eye-Surgeons

but for whom it would not have been possible to continue

my academic work.

PREFACE

The present work is the first fruit of my acceptance of the suggestion of some well-meaning friends to bring out my writings published from time to time in journals and other occasional publications which are not easily accessible. I have decided to bring together selected writings in thematically arranged handy volumes, and the present volume represents my contributions in the field of the history of the Deccan.

The work contains sixteen chapters arranged into two sections, Section I dealing with Central and Western Deccan and Section II with the Eastern Deccan. The first four chapters deal with some problems concerning the Sātavāhanas who constitute the first indigenous political power of the region. These chapters dealing with the chronology and the identity of Śaktikumāra and Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi mainly on numismatic and epigraphic grounds are vital to the understanding of the Sātavāhana history. The next chapter takes stock of recent epigraphic discoveries concerning the Vākāṭakas and their historical bearing. Some of the inscriptions dealt with in this chapter are yet to be published. The sixth chapter deals with the historical evidence furnished by three stone inscriptions found at Ambe Jogai and belonging to the time of Siṅghaṇa, the greatest of the Yādava rulers. These records have been known for long, but their historical bearing was not appreciated in a proper perspective in the absence of dependable editions backed by estampages. Chapter 7 treats of some interesting aspects of the formative period in the history of Buddhism in Andhra which has contributed a lot to the development of Buddhism. The next two chapters throw new light on the history of the Vishṇukuṇḍins, especially their chronology and genealogy and the evidence of their rule over Maharashtra. A few problems concerning the Maghas claim the tenth chapter which invites attention to the numismatic evidence bearing on some aspects of the relative chronology and the existence of two separate chiefs named Śivamagha besides showing that the Purāṇic assertion that the Maghas (or Meghas) ruled in Kosalā is not without basis. The following six chapters are devoted to some problems in the history of South Kosala and Orissa and shed new light on certain problems, particularly chronology, appertaining the Śarabhapurīyas, Pāṇḍavas and the Somavaṁśins.

The book, hopefully, will be found useful by the students interested in the history of the Deccan, particularly the Sātavāhanas, Vākāṭakas, Yādavas,

Vishṇukuṇḍins, Maghas, Śarabhapurīyas, Pāṇḍavas and Somavaṁśins as well as early history of Buddhism.

A few words are, perhaps, called for by way of explanation of the word 'Deccan' in the title of the book and the order of the first four chapters in the second section. 'Deccan' has been used here in the same sense as in the Bhavan's *History and Culture of the Indian People*. As for the second point, I have been guided by spatial proximity.

Sincere thanks are due to Dr. P.V. Parabrahma Sastry for supplying details of the contents of the Bidar plates of Devasena and permitting me to use the same. Dr. (Mrs.) Snigdha Tripathy also supplied information about some inscriptions utilised in the penultimate chapter and has thereby earned my thanks. I am also thankful to Drs. P.L. Gupta and I.K. Sarma for supplying some of the illustrations, and to the latter for valuable help in some other matters also. Some of my colleagues have rendered me valuable assistance in this work. Dr. C.S. Gupta has collaborated with me in editing a few of the inscriptions utilised in the fifth chapter, and I particularly owe to him the fragmentary text of the Ramtek inscription mentioning Prabhāvatīguptā and valuable help in the selection and arrangement of illustrations. Dr. (Mrs.) Malati Mahajan has stirred my ideas in connection with the location of some of the territorial names occurring in the Vākāṭaka records and gone through a portion of the manuscript. Dr. K. Ismail has supplied valuable information regarding the stratigraphic position of the unique coin of Śaktikumāra found in course of the excavations at Satanikota. I take this opportunity to express my appreciation of the valuable help received from them. My esteemed friend Shri Devendra Handa, Reader in Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Panjab University, Chandigarh, has placed me under a deep debt of gratitude by giving finishing touches to the book. To my wife Dr. Yogeshwari Shastri, Head of the Department of Hindi, L.A.D. and S.R.P. College, Nagpur, I am beholden in several matters, and but for her keen interest it would not have been possible to complete this work. The publication of this book is largely due to the keen interest evinced by the late Shri Swadesh Prasad Singhal. He would have been very happy to see it published. I fondly remember him on this occasion.

I have no words to express my indebtedness to Dr. Ishwar Chandra of Nagpur and Dr. S.S. Badrinath of Madras who took care of my eye-sight but for which it would not have been possible for me to continue my academic work. I have gratefully dedicated this book to them.

I had no opportunity to go through the proofs and consequently numerous misprints have crept in the book. Some of the more serious ones have been listed in the errata. For the inconvenience they may cause I crave the indulgence of the readers.

'Prachi', 23, Vidya Vihar,
Rana Pratap Nagar, Nagpur.

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. Coin of Sātakarṇi I, Pauni.
Rectangular, 1.7 × 1.6 cm; Weight 16 gm.

Obv. Elephant walking with upraised trunk, to right; on its back, Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each of its orbs; overhead Brāhmī legend in a straight line: *Raṁño siri-Sātakaṁṇisa*; all within a square incuse part of which is visible above the legend.

Rev. Bull with open mouth and upraised-curled tail, standing to right, tied to a post; on its back, eight-spoked wheel with an arrow-head or umbrella radiating from each of the spokes beyond the rim; behind it, a solid triangle-headed standard or *Indradhvaja* of a rather unusual type.
(Pauni Excavation No. 88A, PNI-CPR, *Pauni Excavation*, p. 99, Pl. LXVII. 6. See *infra*, p. 10).

Fig. 2. Coin of Satakumāra, Sātanikoṭa. See *infra*, p. 18.
Lead; Circular; Diameter 2.3 × 2.5 cm; Weight 7.773 gm.

Obv. In the middle on left, a *triratna* with a smaller circle within a larger circle, pellets around it; on right, three slightly curved vertical lines, the middle one being somewhat longer than the two flanking lines; a crescent slightly above but separated from the upper right limb of *triratna*. The top horizontal stroke of the left limb of the *triratna* is somewhat broader than that of its right limb. Above the right half of the *triratna*, a *vāmāvarta* (anti-clockwise) *svastika* instead of the usual *dakshiṇāvarta* (clockwise) *svastika*; to its right, lower portion of taurine or *nandipada*. Legend in early Brāhmī characters to the right of the two last-mentioned devices beginning at about 2 O'clock may be read as *Kumārasa siri-Sata*. (Alternatively it may be read as *Siri-Sata-Kumārasa*).

Rev. A square divided into two zones by a horizontal line running across it, the upper one being almost twice the size as compared to the lower one. In the upper zone, a tree with artistically designed cursive trunk and branches and leaves and fruits represented in the form of pellets. The lower rectangle depicts a wavy line symbolising river and some aquatic creatures.

Fig. 3. Line drawing of Fig. 2.

Fig. 4. Coin of Śivaśri Puḷumāvi, Indore. See *infra*, p. 31.
Silver; Circular; Diameter 1.63 × 1.64 cm; Weight 1.680 gm.
Obv. Head of the king to right, with moustaches, wearing *kuṇḍalas* in ears and a pearl-bordered *lalāṭikā* on the forehead; curly hair are visible on the top. Brahmī-Prakrit legend along the edge beginning at 12 O'clock, *raño Vāsīṭhiputasa Savasara Puḷumāvisa* standing for *raño Vāsiṭhiputasa Sivasiri Puḷumāvisa.*
Rev. Within a beaded border (traces visible on right), on left, Ujjain symbol capped by a crescent; on right, six-peaked hill surmounted by a crescent; between them in the upper portion, a radiate solar device; below, a wavy line. Circular legend in Dravidian Prakrit and southern Brāhmi characters beginning at 11 O'clock *arahaṇaku Vahaṭṭamakaṇa*, the remainder being off the flan. The complete legend evidently must have been *arahaṇaku Vāhiṭṭimkaṇaku Sivatiru Puḷumāviku.*

Fig. 5. Coin of Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi, Dhulikatta. See *infra*, p. 31.
Silver; Circular. Other details are not available.
Obv. Bust of king as above. Brāhmī-Prakrit legend of which the available portion reads *siṭhiputasa Sivasīri-Pu*, the full restorable legend being as above.
Rev. Devices as above. The available portion of the Dravidian Prakrit-southern Brāhmī legend is *arahaṇaka vāhiṭṭima . . , taru-Puḷumāviku* which is restorable as above.

Fig. 6. Māṇḍhaḷ plates of Pṛithivīsheṇa II, Year 10. Second Plate, Second Side. See *infra*, pp. 59-60.

Fig. 7. Māṇḍhaḷ Plates of Pṛithivīsheṇa II, Seal. See *infra*, pp. 56-57.

Fig. 8. Mahurjhari Plates of Pṛithivīsheṇa II, Year 17. Third Plate, First Side. See *infra*, p. 62.

Fig. 9. Balaghat Plates of Pṛithivīsheṇa II. Second Plate, Second Side. See *infra*, p. 60.

Fig. 10. Nṛisiṁha Temple Inscription of Prabhāvatīguptā, Ramtek. See *infra*, pp. 68-71.

Fig. 11. Sakaleśvara Temple, Ambe Jogai. See *infra*, Chapter 6.

Fig. 12. A Fragmentary Inscription of Kholeśvara, Ambe Jogai. See *infra*, Chapter 6.

Fig. 13. Sakaleśvara Temple Inscription of Kholeśvara, Śaka 1150. See *infra*, Chapter 6.

Fig. 14. Yogeśvarī Temple Inscription of Kholeśvara. See *infra*, Chapter 6.

Fig. 15. Rāmanārāyaṇa Temple Inscription of Lakshmī, Śaka 1162. See *infra*, Chapter 6.

Fig. 16. Coin of *Mahārāja* Magha, Allahabad Museum. See *infra*, Chapter 10.
Copper; Circular. Rest of the details not available.
Obv. In the upper portion, lower portion of the traces of devices: probably three-peaked hill and tree in railing. In the lower portion, Legend *haraja Ma.*
Rev. Standing bull to right.

Fig. 17. Coin of *Mahārāja* Magha, Allahabad Museum. See *infra*, Chapter 10.
Copper; Circular. Details of size and weight not available.
Obv. In the upper portion, three-peaked hill and tree in railing. In the lower portion, legend *Maharaja Ma.*
Rev. Effaced.

Fig. 18. Coin of *Mahārāja* Magha, Kauśāmbī Hoard. See *infra*, Chapter 10.
Copper; Round; Diameter 1.5 cm.; Weight 1.700 gm.
Obv. Above, on left, hill; on right, tree. Below, legend [*Ma*]*haraja*[*Ma*].
Rev. Bull standing to right.

Fig. 19. Coin of Bhadramagha, Kauśāmbī Hoard. See *infra*, Chapter 10.
Copper; Irregular; Size 1.8 × 1.8 cm.; Weight 3.800 gm.
Obv. Above, on left, hill; on right, tree, Below, legend *Bhadrama.*
Rev. Blank.

Fig. 20. Coin of Bhadramagha, Kauśāmbī Hoard. See *infra*, Chapter 10.
Copper, Irregular square; 1.8 × 1.8 cm.; Weight 3.800 gm.
Obv. Above, in a row from left to right, spear; hill; portion of tree. Below, legend *Bha*[*drama*]. Incuse mark on it.
Rev. Bull to right. Above it, trident.

Fig. 21. Coin of Śivamagha I, Kauśāmbi Hoard. See *infra*, Chapter 10.
Copper; Irregular rectangular 1.4 × 1.8 cm.; Weight 3 gm.
Obv. Above, in a row from left to right, spear (only lower portion accommodated), tree and hill. In the middle, legend *Śivama.* Below, ladder.
Rev. Bull standing to right.

Fig. 22. Coin of Vaiśravaṇa, Kauśāmbī Hoard. See *infra*, Chapter 10.
Copper; Irregular square 1.3 × 1.5 cm.; Weight 2.3 gm.
Obv. Above, in a row from left to right, curved line, tree and hill. Below, legend *Veśrava*[*ṇa*].
Rev. Bull standing to right; conchshell on its back.

Fig. 23. Coin of Vaiśravaṇa restruck by Śivamagha II, Kauśāmbī Hoard. See *infra*, Chapter 10.
Copper; Oblong 1.2 × 1.6 cm.; Weight 2 gm.
Obv. Above, lower portions of tree and hill on left and right respectively, Below legend *Sivama[gha]*.
Rev. Faint traces of *va* and *śra* (parts of the name Vaiśravaṇa) and ladder mark below the letters.

Fig. 24. Coin of Bhīmavarman, Kauśāmbī Hoard. See *infra*, Chapter 10.
Copper; Irregular rectangular 1.5 × 1.7 cm.; Weight 2.6 gm.
Obv. Above, on left, lower portion of tree; on right, left lower portion of hill. In the middle, legend *[Bhī]mava[ma]*. Below, ladder.
Rev. Bull to right; six-spoked wheel on its back. Two vertical lines are seen across the body of the bull.

Fig. 25. Coin of Śivamagha, Mallar. See *infra*, Chapter 10.
Copper; Circular; Diameter 2 cm.; Weight 3.86 gm.
Obv. Elephant to right; above it, an angular *nandipada*. *Brāhmī* legend between IX and III O'clock, *Savamaghasarasa*.
Rev. Peacock on a pedestal, to left. The platform has two diagonally and horizontally placed tiers.

Fig. 26. Coin of Śivamagha, Mallar. See *infra*, Chapter 10.
Copper; Circular; Diameter 2.12 cm.; Weight 2.85 gm.
Obv. As above. The concluding portion of the legend, *sarasa* standing for *sirisa*, clearer.
Rev. As above. The platform has two horizontally placed tiers.

Fig. 27. Coin of Yāmagha, Mallar. See *infra*, Chapter 10.
Copper; Square 1.82 × 1.72 cm.; Weight 2.75 gm.
Obv. Elephant to right with some object, perhaps a rider, on its back; an angular *nandipada* on top; Brāhmī legend *siri-Yāmagha*.
Rev. Tree.

Fig. 28. Coin of Śivamagha, Tripurī. See *infra*, Chapter 10.
Copper; Irregular Circular; Diameter 2.34 × 2.35 cm.; Weight 2.4 gm.
Obv. Elephant standing to left with trunk upraised; above it, bold angular *nandipada*. Semi-circular Brāhmī legend above, *ño[sa]vama [gha]sarasa* intended for *raño Sivamaghasirisa*.
Rev. Peacock with spread out tail facing right standing on a three-tiered pedestal and holding a snake-like object in its beak.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI	: *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.*
ASI, AR	: *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.*
ASS	: *Anandashram Sanskrit Series.*
ASSI	: *Archaeological Survey of South India.*
ASWI	: *Archaeological Survey of Western India.*
BI	: *Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta.*
BMC, AI	: *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum : Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India.*
BMC, AWK	: *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum : The Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the 'Bodhi' Dynasty.*
CCIM	: *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum : Vol. I, Coins of Ancient India,*
BSS	: *Bombay Sanskrit Series.*
CII	: *Corpus Incriptionum Indicarum.*
DHNI	: *Dynastic History of Northern India by H.C. Ray.*
EA	: *Epigraphia Andhrica.*
EI	: *Epigraphia Indica.*
GOS	: *Gaekwad Oriental Series.*
HOS	: *Harvard Oriental Series.*
IA	: *Indian Antiquary.*
IC	: *Indian Culture.*
ICPB	: *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar by Rao Bhadur Hira Lal.*
IHQ	: *Indian Historical Quarterly.*
INC	: *Indian Numismatic Chronicle.*
JAHRS	: *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.*
JAIH	: *Journal of Ancient Indian History.*
JAS	: *Journal of the Asiatic Society.*
JASB	: *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
JBBRAS	: *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
JBORS	: *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*
JESI	: *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India.*
JGJRI	: *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute.*

JIH	: *Journal of Indian History.*
JNSI	: *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.*
JOI	: *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.*
JPASB	: *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
JRAS	: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
JRASB	: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
MASI	: *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.*
ND	: *Numismatic Digest.*
NS	: *Numismatic Supplement.*
NS	: *New Series.*
OHRJ	: *Orissa Historical Research Journal.*
PIHC	: *Proceedings of Indian History Congress.*
PTS	: *Pali Text Society.*
SBE	: *Sacred Books of the East.*
SIE	: *Studies in Indian Epigraphy.*
VIJ	: *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal.*

CONTENTS

Preface vii
List of Illustrations ix
List of Abbreviations xiii

I

CENTRAL AND WESTERN DECCAN

1. Epoch of the Sātavāhana Rule: A Reappraisal 1
2. Sātavāhana Prince Śaktikumāra: Numismatic Evidence 16
3. Identity of Vashishṭhīputra Śivaśri Puḷamāvi 25
4. Closing Phase of the Sātavāhana Power and Allied Issues 38
5. The Vākāṭakas : Fresh Epigraphic Evidence 45
6. New Light on the Reign of Yādava Singhaṇa 82

II

EASTERN DECCAN

7. Some Aspects of Buddhism in Andhra Pradesh 101
8. Fresh Light on the History of the Vishṇukuṇḍiṇs 122
9. Vishnukuṇḍins in Maharashtra 132
10. The Maghas : A Historical Reappraisal 138
11. The Śarabhapuriyas 162
12. Pāṇḍavās of Mekalā 192
13. Chronology of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins of South Kosala 211
14. Relationship between the Paṇḍuvaṁśins and the Somavaṁśins 231
15. Genealogy and Chronology of Later Somavamśins 239
16. Regal Literature and Nomenclature in South Kosala 258

I

CENTRAL AND WESTERN DECCAN

1

EPOCH OF THE SĀTAVĀHANA RULE : A RE-APPRAISAL

Variant traditions regarding the Andhra-Sātavāhanas recorded in the historical portions of some of the Purāṇas have given rise to protracted debates on some vital issues concerning their history. The problem that has generated the most heated controversy appertains their chronology, more specially the initial period of their rule. While some of the Purāṇas state that there were thirty Andhra kings who ruled for over four hundred years (actual figures vary), others suggest that there were in all about nineteen kings with the total duration of their rule covering about 275 years or so. Correspondingly, the historians of the Sātavāhanas are vertically split up into two debating groups, one believing in longer chronology and the other upholding shorter chronology. The former hold that the Sātavāhanas began to rule towards the close of the third or in the first half of the second century BC, while the latter place this epoch-making event about the middle or latter half of the first century BC. This question has been debated so far almost entirely on the basis of these divergent Purānic traditions, sometimes aided by regional chauvinism. Here is an attempt to discuss the question dispassionately in the light of the extant cumulative evidence of the Purāṇas and other literary sources, coins, inscriptions and archaeology which, it is shown, lends unmistakable support to the shorter chronology and dating the commencement of the Sātavāhana rule about mid-first century BC. Reference is also made to some other allied issues in the light of the evidence brought to light in recent years.

The date of the commencement of the Sātavāhana rule in the Deccan forms one of the most debated and yet unsettled problems of ancient Indian history. While some historians are inclined to place this event sometime in the latter half of the third century B.C. soon after Aśoka,[1] others relegate it to about the middle or the latter half of the first century B.C.[2] Still others divide the Sātavāhana history into two phases placing the rise of Sātavāhana power in the third century B.C., and the supposed restoration of the allegedly lost independent status of the dynasty under Simuka in the latter half of the first century B.C.[3]

The main reason for such widely divergent opinions on the question lies in the fact that the Purāṇas make conflicting statements as regards the total number of what they style the Andhra or Andhra-jātīya kings and the period of their total rule. Thus, the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Bhāgavata* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇas* make the general

statement that there were thirty kings,[4] but the number of names actually given by them ranges between seventeen and twenty-five.[5] The *Matsya Purāṇa*, on the other hand, gives the total number of kings as nineteen,[6] but some manuscripts of the work actually name thirty, while the names found in other manuscripts vary between twenty-one and twenty-eight[7]. Similar is the case with regard to the total duration of their rule. Most of the Purāṇas dealing with the subject agree that the Andhra kings ruled for a period of over four centuries, though the actual figures supplied by them differ from one another by a few years.[8] According to another tradition recorded in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, however, the Andhras ruled for three hundred years.[9] As against this, the total of the years assigned to individual reigns in 448½ according to the *Matsya Purāṇa* and 272½ according to the *Vāyu*.[10] It follows from this that were two different traditions on these points: according to one of them there were altogether some thirty rulers the duration of whose reigns covered over four centuries, while according to the other tradition there were about nineteen kings with some three centuries or a little less as the total length of their rule. Considering the fact that the Sātavāhana rule came to an end about the close of the second or early in the third century A.D., the champions of the first tradition date the rise of the Sātavāhana power in the latter half of the third or about the commencement of the following century B.C. Those who rely on the second tradition place this event sometime in the first century B.C. However, while there exists such a wide divergence in the Purāṇic traditions regarding the total number and duration of the rule of the Andhra-Sātavāhanas, all the Purāṇas without a single exception are unanimous about another tradition according to which Simuka,[11] the first in the Purāṇic list of the Andhra kings, obtained the earth by overthrowing the last Kāṇvāyana ruler, Suśarman.[12] The second view about the epoch of the Sātavāhana rule has precedence over the other opinion inasmuch as it is in conformity with this unanimous tradition.

In view of the disagreement among the Purāṇas, scholars have approached the problem from some other angles. Mention must in this connection be made of the Naneghat larger sacrificial inscription of Nāyanikā, widowed queen of Sātakarṇi I, the third Andhra-Sātavāhana king according to the Purāṇas, and the shorter label inscriptions.[13] Buhler[14] and, following him, some other scholars[15] are inclined to assign these records to the first half of the second century B.C., on palaeographical grounds. The statement of the famous Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela that the Kaliṅga king despatched an army to the West without caring for Sātakarṇi[16] has also been taken to support this early date of the Naneghat inscriptions. The Sātakarṇi of the former epigraph is generally identified with the first Sātavāhana king of that name, and the inscription of Khāravela is also placed as early as the other records[17] on grounds of supposed references therein to the 165th year of the Muriya-kāla[18] and the 103rd year after Nandarāja.[19] Others contest it stoutly, place these records not much earlier than the end of the first century B.C.,

dispute any allusion to the Maurya era and interpret the relevant expression, *viz.*, *Nandarāja-ti-vasa-sata*, as referring to three hundred years since the Nanda king.[20] It is worth mentioning in this connection that even Buhler, who placed the Naneghat record in the first half of the second century B.C., observed that the characters of the Naneghat inscriptions belong to a period anterior by about 100 years to that of the edicts of Gotamīputra Sātakarṇi I and his son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāyi,.[21] He further emphasises the point by stating that 'the differences between the characters of Gotamīputra Sātakarṇi's and those of the Nanaghat documents are such that it is not possible to place them at a distance of more than about 100 years'.[22] He could place the Naneghat inscriptions as also the Nasik epigraph of Kaṇha (Kṛishṇa),[23] the second king of the Andhra-Sātavāhana dynasty according to the Purāṇas, in the first half of the second century B.C., because he believed that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi lived a little earlier than the middle of the following century before Christ.[24] But now that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is almost unanimously believed to have flourished in the first half of the second century A.D., the Naneghat documents should, following Buhler's suggestion, be naturally placed about the beginning of the Christian era, in any case, not much prior to the close of the first century before Chirst, a date which would agree with the unanimous Purāṇic tradition that the last Kāṇvāyana king, Suśarman, was overthrown by the first Andhra-Sātavāhana ruler, Simuka. It is also noteworthy in the present context that Buhler did not believe that the Andhra-Sātavāhanas ruled for over four centuries. 'Nor is there', he avers, 'any guarantee that the dynasty of Simuka-Śipraka ruled during about 450 years, much less that Simuka-Śipraka reigned 350 or 360 years before Gautamīputra Sātakarni'.[25] However, those who place the event of the coming of the Sātavāhanas to power in the latter half of the third century B.C., connive at Buhler's verdict regarding the palaeographical differences between the Naneghat inscriptions on the one hand and Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's records on the other and the interval of time warranted by them obviously because it is inconvenient to them and continue to place the two sets of epigraphs at a distance of over three centuries.

Moreover, it must be remembered that palaeographic evidence, though of some help in the absence of other evidences, is not very reliable in fixing exact dates, or even a period within narrow limits, of inscriptions. In some cases dates fixed exclusively on palaeographical grounds have been proved to be wide off the mark not merely by decades but by centuries. Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas[26] and Somavaṁśis,[27] for example, which were placed by earlier epigraphists like Buhler and Fleet about 800 A.D., have now been proved to belong to dates centuries earlier. The same is the case with the Sagar inscription of Vāparājadeva, the first known Kalacuri king of Tripurī.[28]

An important evidence for dating the initial period of the Sātavāhana rule has been afforded by the stratigraphy of the extensive archaeological excavations at

Nevasa situated on the river Pravarā, a tributary of the Godāvarī, in the Ahmadnagar district of the Maharashtra State. These diggings have brought to light six periods of human habitation the last three of which belong to the historical period. The last one is the Muslim-Maratha period which does not concern us in the present inquiry. Period IV styled Early Historical and Period V designated Indo-Roman or Late Early Historical, however, have an important bearing on the problem under study. Period IV has yielded, among other things, coins of two early Sātavāhana rulers, Siri Sātakarṇi and Sātavāhana, while the finds of Period V include the coins of the later Sātavāhanas. Therefore, the determination of the chronological limits of these periods, particularly of Period IV, will go a long way in solving the perplexing riddle shrouding the epoch of the Sātavāhana rule. Period IV was characterised by the use of iron, black-and-red ware, the coarse red and a sprinkling of Northern Black Polished Ware. This, coupled with the coins of the early Sātavāhanas found in the various layers of this Period, has led the excavators to date its beginning to the first half of the second century B.C.[29] As regards the *terminus ad quem* of Period IV, the excavators first dated it in *circa* 50 B.C., but revised it later bringing it down to the beginning of the Christian era.[30] The cultural equipment of Period V included the Red Polished Wares such as Megarian-like, the Rouletted ware, the amphorae and the criss-cross painted Andhra ware and the coins of the later Sātavāhanas such as Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Yajña Sātakarṇi. It has been pointed out by the excavators that at Arikamedu and Sisupalgarh the Rouletted ware has been dated from *c.* first century B.C., to the first-second century A.D., and at Brahmagiri and Chandravalli from the first to the third century A.D. The amphorae have been assigned to *c.* first century B.C., at Taxila and *c.* first century A.D., at Arikamedu. The decorated Megarian-like is also assignable to the same period. The Andhra painted ware from Nevasa is identical in design and fabric with those from Brahmagiri and may not be earlier than the first century A.D. On these grounds Period V has been sought to be assigned to *c.* first century B.C.—second-third century A.D.[31]

However, a close examination of the relevant data leads one to question the above dating. None of the evidences relied upon by the excavators can form a firm base for dating these periods within well-defined chronological limits. As admitted by H.D. Sankalia, the NBP in the Deccan cannot be dated as early as in the north (5th-4th centuries B.C.), and its date in the former region can be determined only on the basis of the circumstantial evidence of associated finds like coins. It must be remembered in this connection that NBP ware sherds have been reported even from the topmost layers of Period IV which, according to the excavators themselves, can in no way be placed much earlier than the beginning of the Christian era.[32] The silver-plated copper punch-marked coin also comes from the uppermost layers of this period[33] and consequently cannot be dated much earlier than the beginning of the first century A.D. S.B. Deo, who has contributed a large

section on coins to the Report, seems to have employed the coins of the early Sātavāhana rulers found in the various strata of Period IV as a double-edged weapon for fixing the date of the Period on the one hand and the epoch of the Sātavahāna rule on the other. Thus, on the one hand we are told that the set of five coins bearing the legend Siri Sātavāhana and coming from layers earlier than those giving the coins of Gautamīputra are new and help in assigning the layers of Period IV to about the second century B.C'.[34] It is argued on the other hand that "their (of the coins of Sātavāhana) association with the antiquities of pre-Red Polished ware horizons supports their dating to about the 2nd century B.C. In view of this new evidence", it is added, "it may not be incorrect to push back the origin of the Sātavāhanas to 3rd-2nd century B.C., rather than to assign them to 1st century B.C., as some scholars try to advocate".[35] The reasoning behind these arguments is quite unintelligible. First, when the epoch of the Sātavāhana power itself is the bone of contention, the occurrence of Sātavāhana coins of uncertain dates cannot be pressed into service for dating the layers in question. Secondly, the dates of the Sātavāhana kings whose coins are met with in stratified excavations must be fixed on the basis of the layers proper wherein they have been recovered and not on that of the general cultural period to which the coin-yielding layers belong. Now, all the coins of king Sātavāhana are encountered in the uppermost strata of Period IV which the excavators themselves do not assign to a date much earlier than the first century A.D.[36] Moreover, it is also not quite correct to aver that these coins came from the pre-Red Polished ware layers. A glance at the chart explaining the concordance and correlation of the layers at Nevasa would reveal that coins of king Sātavāhana have been reported from layer No. 3 of Trenches I, X and Y and layer 8 of Trench E which are co-eval with layer 5 of Trench C which has yielded Red Polished wares like the amphorae and the Megarian-like. Then again amphorae are encountered in layer 4 of Trench Y which underlies the layer yielding coins of king Sātavāhana.[37] And as we have already seen, Red Polished ware continued to be used for some three centuries after Christ. It would thus follow that nothing found in the layers of Period IV supports the 3rd-2nd century B.C., epoch theory. Further, there is reason to believe that the *terminus ad quem* of Period IV and the *terminus a quo* of the following period lie not about 50 B.C., or the beginning of the 1st century A.D., as contended by the excavators, but considerably later. The Red Polished ware having been current for three or four centuries A.D., it cannot be relied upon for dating Period V within closer limits. The only firm base for determining the chronological limits of this period is furnished by the late Sātavāhana coins on the one hand and the coins doubtfully described as Pallava coins on the other.[38] As regards the upper limit, coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Srī Yajña Sātakarṇi would seem to place it not much earlier than the early second century A.D. The coins doubtfully designated as Pallava really belong to the Viṣhṇkuṇḍins a large number of whose coins has

been reported from various ancient sites in Maharashtra. Three such coins from Paunar in the Wardha district were published and for the first time attributed to the Vishṇukuṇḍins by the present author,[39] and this attribution has been followed by S.B. Deo and M.K. Dhavalikar in their report on Paunar excavations, while reporting the discovery of a large hoard of Vishṇukuṇḍin coins.[40] Now, the rise of the Vishṇukuṇḍins cannot be placed earlier than the fifth century A.D., and the discovery of the Vishṇukuṇḍin coins in the topmost layers of Period V would naturally lead one to date the *terminus ad quem* of this period about late fifth-early sixth century A.D. We would thus propose to date Period V between the second and fifth-sixth centuries A.D. Conversely, the chronological limits of Period IV will also have to be brought down by about a century and may be placed between late first century B.C., or early first century A.D., and early second century A.D. And consequently the discovery of early Sātavāhana coins in the layers of Period IV would only lend support to the theory that the Sātavāhanas rose to power sometime in the later half of the first century B.C.[41]

Reference may by made in this connection to the stratigraphic position of the unique coin of Śaktikumāra found in the excavations at Satanikota in the Nandikotkur Taluq of the Kurnool District of Andhra Pradesh.[42] As will be shown later, Śaktikumāra or Śaktiśrī, generally identified with Satisiri of the larger Naneghat inscription, was in likelihood the fourth member of the Sātavāhana dynasty. This coin is reported to have been found in an earlier layer of Period II which has been dated, on the basis of associated evidence, to *circa* first century B.C.—*circa* third century A.D. The associated pottery includes russet coated painted ware and ruoletted ware which go well with the general dating of this period.[43] The bricksizes are in agreement with those of the corresponding phase found in the excavations at Peddabankur, Newasa and Salihundam, and so are the double-perforated tiles with those recovered for Bhokardan, Brahmapuri and a host of other sites. Minor antiquities associated with the coin-find include a circular tabular agate bead comparable to those from Taxila dated to first century B.C. and from Ahichchhatra, Kondapur and Maski found in levels not earlier than first century A.D., and a turtle pendent comparable in shape to those from Kaundinyapura and Bhokardan none of which can be dated prior to the first century B.C. Another related find is the solitary terracotta female figurine prepared from double moulds, a technique adopted from Romans around the beginning of the first century A.D. Thus, with reference to stratigraphy, the coin, which was encountered about 15 to 20 or above the earliest habitational deposit of Period II on a well-defined floor level, cannot be dated but around the commencement of the first century A.D., leave aside the internal evidence of the coin itself.[44]

We must also mention here a Roman lead bulla recovered in the excavations at Veerapuram in the Kurnool District, which was taken by the excavators as

joint issue of the Sātavāhana king Hakusiri and the Roman emperor Tiberius, and if this view were to be conceded, it would have provided another stratigraphic evidence for the middle or rather latter half of the first century B.C., as the epoch for the rise of the Sātavāhana power.[45] However, as we had occasion to point out elsewhere, it was not a joint monetary issue, but just an imitation of a Tiberius coin meant for use as a pendent.[46] As such, it is of no value in the present context.

Those favouring the first century B.C., epoch for the Śātavāhanas were till recently faced with the utter paucity of historical evidence for the period intervening between the fall of the Mauryas and the appearance of the Sātavāhanas on the political scene of the Deccan and South India. But recent archaeological work has thrown up a large mass of numismatic data to fill up this gap. We now know that a large volume of uninscribed cast and diestruck coins in base metals like copper, lead and potin circulated in the Deccan, as in northern India, during the post-Maurya period. Stratigraphically, uninscribed cast copper issues found in the excavations at Brahmapuri, Chandravalli, Newasa, Pauni and other sites are datable to pre-Sātavāhana period. Uninscribed die-struck coins also have been recovered from pre-Sātavāhana layers at Pauni. We have also a large number of stray finds of uninscribed pre-Sātavāhana issues in base metals practically from all the areas which later came to be included in the Sātavāhana empire. These uninscribed specie were followed by inscribed ones bearing the name of the authority responsible for issuing them. Thus, we have the coins of Svāmigopa (or Samagopa), Kamvāya, the Bhadras and the Mitras as well as the city coin of Tagara (Ter, Oosmanabad District, Maharashtra) all of which must be assigned to the pre-Sātavāhana period.[47] In view of these discoveries it is now impossible to date the emergence of the Sātavāhanas earlier than mid-first century B.C.

The evidence of Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* also deserves to be studied from this point of view. It is admitted on all hands that the play is based on historical events. According to an episode narrated in it, Vidarbha rose to the status of an independent kingdom under Yajñasena, a close relation of the minister of the last Maurya king, who was on hostile terms with the Suṅga upstart Pushyamitra (*c.* 187-151 B.C.) and his son Agnimitra. Mādhavasena, a friend of Agnimitra and a cousin of Yajñasena, was arrested by an officer (*antapāla* or protector of frontiers) of Yaijñasena while going to Vidiśā, Agnimitra's headquarters. When asked by Agnimitra to release him, Yajñasena insisted on the prior release of the Maurya minister by Agnimitra who, being enraged thereupon, sent his brother-in-law Vīrasena on an expedition against Vidarbha. Yajñasena was defeated and Mādhavasena released. The kingdom of Vidarbha was partitioned between Yajñasena and Mādhavasena both of whom accepted Pushyamitra's suzerainty. It would thus follow that during the time of Pushyamitra Śuṅga

Vidarbha was at first an independent kingdom and later divided into two dependencies ruled over by Yajñasena and his cousin Mādhavasena under Pushyamitra Śuṅga's hegemony. Recently two potin coins attributed to Sātakarṇi I on typological grounds have been reported from Pauni, an ancient site in the Bhandara district of Vidarbha. One of them is a surface find and the other was recovered in course of archaeological excavations.[48] These coins being of base metal, there is little likelihood of their having come to Pauni from some distant locality. The discovery of these coins, therefore, seems to suggest that the Vidarbha region formed part of Sātakarṇi I's dominions. According to those scholars who date the rise of the Sātavāhana power in the second half of the third century B.C. Pushyamitra Śuṅga and Sātakarṇi I were either contemporaries or the latter flourished somewhat earlier than the former.[49] In case the latter view is accepted, the non-mention of Sātakarṇi by Kālidāsa in connection with Vidarbha will have to be accounted for. In the time of Pushyamitra, Sātavāhanas had nothing to do with Vidarbha which was ruled over by Yajñasena and Mādhavasena under Pushyamitra's suzerainty. In fact, the *Mālavikāgnimitra* gives the impression that Vidarbha came under the possession of Yajñasena immediately after the collapse of the Maurya empire. And if the former view is conceded, one will have to reconcile the rule of Sātakarṇi I with that of Yajñasena and Mādhavasena over the same region about the same time, which is ridiculous. It would thus appear that the evidence of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* also supports the first century B.C., epoch theory.

Consideration of the evolution of legends on early Indian coins also leads us to the same conclusion. There is some difference of opinion on this question. The earliest Indian coins, those known as punch-marked coins and some cast pieces, are uninscribed. Legends began to appear on Indian coins at a comparatively late phase in the history of Indian numismatics. According to some scholars, this represents an indigenous development, while others hold that this was a result of the impact of the coins of the Greek rulers of India.[50] We are of the opinion that while legends on Indian coins may have begun to appear as a result of the gradual development of the technique of minting, the appearance of the names of the issuing chiefs accompanied by regal titles, such as those we come across on the Sātavāhana coins, was in all likelihood inspired by the coins of the Indo-Greeks. This new development, which tranformed the character of Indian coinage, took place not earlier than the first century B.C.

It has been recently suggested that prior to the first century B.C., Sātavāhanas may have issued coins without any legends such as the punch-marked coins.[51] However, the question at stake is not whether the Sātavāhanas issued uninscribed coins also, but the dating of the coins of the earliest Sātavāhana rulers which, we know, are inscribed. And these, we have seen, belong to a date not much earlier than the middle of the first century B.C.

To sum up, all the evidences, literary and archaelogical, when properly sifted, co-ordinated and correlated, lead us to the incontestable conclusion that the epoch of the Sātavāhana rule lies somewhere about the middle of the first century B.C.

Before we conclude it would not be amiss to refer, briefly of course, to a couple of problems connected with the emergence of the Sātavāhana empire. The original home of the Sātavāhanas has been a subject of debate ever since the dynasty came to light, and till now it has not been possible to reach a final conclusion on this problem. Some recent discoveries have, however, thrown welcome light on this question. Till a few years ago the earliest inscriptions and coins of the dynasty were reported from the Pune-Aurangabad region of Maharashtra, and notwithstanding the fact that the Purāṇakāras designate it as Āndhra or Āndhra-jātīya, most of the scholars held the view that the early members of the dynasty had nothing to do with the present Andhra Pradesh. But the recent discovery of the coins of the first Sātavāhana king Simuka together with those of a few other early rulers including Sātakarṇi I and Sātavāhana in a fairly good number at Kotalingala in the Karimnagar District of Andhra Pradesh[52] has altogether changed the picture. These are coins in cheap metals and are, in normal circumstances, not likely to travel a long distance. We may, therefore, be reasonably sure that the coins belonged to and circulated in the area where they are actually found. It is noteworthy in this connection that the same area is also reported to have yielded a few other coins which are sought to be attributed to the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas[53] who according to the Purāṇic chroniclers, preceded the Andhra-Sātavāhanas. It is well known that a coin of another early Sātavāhana monarch named Sātavāhana, obviously identical with *Kumāra* Sātavāhana mentioned in one of the short label inscriptions at Naneghat,[54] was recovered in the excavations at Kondapur in the Medak District of Andhra Pradesh.[55] It is necessary in the present context to invite attention to the recent discovery of a unique lead coin of *Kumāra* Śata or Satakumāra who, as will be shown in the sequel, was an early member of the dynasty, in the excavations at Satanikota in the Kurnool District of Andhra Pradesh in a stratified context.[56] All these discoveries made within the last few years have made it imperative on our part to reconsider the question of the original home of the Sātavāhanas. We are now in possession of sufficient numismatic evidence to show that a considerable portion of Andhra Pradesh was included in the Sātavāhana empire from the very beginning. Before these finds came to light it was generally believed by sholars that the Purāṇic statement that the Sātavāhanas were Āndhras or Āndhra-Jātīyas had no relevance to the early history of the dynasty and owed its origin to the fact that the dominions of the later Sātavāhanas were confined to Āndhradeśa. This had become something like a religious dogma with many scholars even though the fact that at least the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra was under the Sātavāhanas till the very end of the dynasty is beyond doubt.[57] Not only

that, the Satavāhana rule over the Vidarbha region seems to have lasted for a few more decades after it had come to an end in all other areas, as will be shown subsequently (ch. IV). Had the Purāṇic chroniclers been inclined to name the dynasty after its latest territorial possessions, they would have better christened it Vaidarbha rather than Āndhra or Āndhra-jātīya. In view of these facts, not only has the above dogma to be abandoned, but we have also to believe that the statement of the Purāṇic writers is based on their knowledge of the early history of the dynasty and not just on the assumed later confinement of the dynastic rule to the Andhra area. The employment of the Dravidian language for the reverse legend of the silver issues of the successors of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi,[58] the mention of *Sātavāhana-āhāra*[59] and *Sātavāhana-rāṣhtra*,[60] in inscriptions found in the Kurnool District, and the presence even now of the locality significantly named Sātānikoṭa[61] *Sātavāhana-koṭṭa*, *i.e.*, a Sātavāhana fort) in the same region also point in the same direction.

The dynastic portions of the Purāṇas spell the name of the first member of the Āndhra-Sātavāhana dynasty variously and one of the variants is Chhismaka. Prior to the discovery of the Kotalingala coins, mentioned above, it was commonly believed that all the Purāṇic variants of the name were thoroughly incorrect, whereas the correct form of the name was Simuka which is found in a short label inscription at Naneghat.[62] However, on the Kotalingala coins of Simuka, which are his only known coins so far, the name is spelt as Chhimuka,[63] which should suffice to show that the Purāṇic chroniclers were not totally wrong in commencing his name with the letter *chhi*, only the second letter of the name being the copyists' devil. The alternative spellings of the name beginning with *chhi* and *si*.[64] were in keeping with the South Indian dialectal practice which permits the interchangeability of *s* and *ch* or *chh* and of which some other examples are already known.[65]

Notes and References

1. Rapson, *BMCAWK*, Introduction, pp. xvi-xvii, xxvi (soon after Aśoka's death, i.e. 232 B.C.); *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I (First Indian Reprint, Delhi, 1955), p. 477 (before 200 B.C.); V.A. Smith, *Early History of India* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 216-218 (240-230 B.C.); K. Gopalachari, *Early History of the Andhra Country* (Madras, 1941), p. 28 and *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II (Ed. K.A.N. Sastri, Macmillan, 1957), p. 295 (235 and 234 B.C.), etc. Gurty Venkat Rao (*Early History of the Deccan*, Ed. G. Yazdani, Vol. I, p. 90), however, places this event too early and thinks that 'Simuka must have come to power about the year 271 B.C.' This position has been reiterated by I. K. Sarma, *Coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire*, p. 126; *Coinage of the Sātavahanas and Coins from Excavations* (ed, Ajay Mitra Shasri, p. 917) and V.V. Mirashi (*The History and Inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas*, pp [2]-[9].
2. H.C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (6th Ed., Calcutta, 1953), pp. 403–406 and D.C. Sircar, *The Age of Imperial Unity* (Ed. Majumdar and Pusalkar, 2nd Ed., Bombay, 1953), p. 195 (30 B.C.), etc. R.G. Bhandarkar, however, thinks that the 112 years assigned by

the Purāṇas to the Śuṇgas really included the 45-year period of the rule of the four Kaṇvāyana rulers also and accordingly dates the accession of the first Andhra king Simuka in 73 B.C. (*Early History of the Deccan Collected Works of Sir R.G. Bhandarkar*, Vol. III), pp. 44, 48. Also *vide* D.R. Bhandarkar, *IA*, 1918, pp. 69 ff.

3. Sudhakara Chattopadhyaya, The Purāṇic Account of the Sātavāhanas *JIH*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 359-365. This view, which is based solely on the use of the word *punar* in a stanza of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, has nothing to commend itself.
4. F.E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 36.
5. Thus the *Vāyu* MSS name 17, 18, 19 or 25; *Brahmāṇḍa*, 17; *Bhāgāvata* 23; and *Viṣṇu* 22, 23, or 24. *Vide ibid.*, p. 36
6. *Ibid.*, p. 43, left column, line 5. Rapson (*BMCAWK*, Introduction, p. lxiv and note 4) takes '19' as an error for '29',
7. Pargiter, *op. cit*, p. 36.
8. Thus the *Matsya* gives 460 years, *Vāyu* 411; *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* 456. *Ibid.*, p. 37. Some *Matsya* MSS, however, give 412 years. *Ibid.*, p. 43, fn. 32.
9. R.G. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 48 and fn. 1.
10. *Ibid.* p. 48.
11. The name of the first Andhra king is variously spelt in the Purāṇas as Śiśuka, Sindhuka, Chismaka, Sipraka, etc., which are due to corruption in the course of copping and re-copying, The correct form of the name is given in a label inscription at Naneghat.
12. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
13. *ASWI*, Vol. V. pp. 60 f., 64; D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I (2nd ed.), pp. 192 ff., 190-191.
14. *ASWI*, Vol. V, p. 73.
15. Rapson, *BMCAWK*, Introduction, p. xix; *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 1, pp. 477-78; Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. III (Nagpur, 1962), p. 2, etc.
16. *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 79, text-line 4.
17. Some scholars, however, place the Hathigumpha inscription later than the Naneghat ones and identify the Sātakarṇi of the former record with Sātakarṇi II. See *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 303.
18. Bhagwanlal Indraji, Konow and Jayaswal found a reference to 165th year of the Maurya era, but Jayaswal later gave up this view. *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 74. This reading was, however, followed by Rapson (*BMCAWK*, Introduction, p. xvii) and Bühler (*Indian Palaeography* (Calcutta, 1959), p. 57.
19. *EI*, Vol. XX, pp. 75, 87. Also see Lüders' *List*, No. 1345; Konow, *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. I, p. 26.
20. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 405-06; Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 215, note 7, p. 220; B.M. Barua. *IHQ*, Vol. XIV, p. 469 and notes 136-137. For the palaeographic dating of the Hathigumpha inscription, see *Select Inscriptions*, p. 213, Note 1.
21. *ASWI*, Vol. V, p. 65.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
23. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 98; *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 93; *Select Inscriptions*, p. 189.
24. *ASWI*, Vol. V, p. 73.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
26. *CII*, Vol. III, Introduction, p. xv; *EI*, Vol. III, p. 260 (Vākāṭakas); *CII*, Vol. III, p. 294 (Tīvaradeva).
27. *EI*, Vol. XV, pp. 39 ff. (Vākāṭakas); Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I (1st Ed., Nagpur, 1960) pp. 220 ff. (Tīvaradeva).
28. It was assigned by Hiralal to the end of the 9th century A.D. (*Inscriptions in the Central*

Provinces and Berar, 2nd Ed., Nagpur, 1932, p. 49, No. 84), but Prof. Mirashi has convincingly shown that it really belongs to early eighth century A.D. (*CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 174-75). For the reading of the name Vāparāja *vide* my *Tripurī* (Bhopal, 1971), pp. 41-42.

29. H.D. Sankalia, S.B. Deo, Z.D. Ansari and Sophie Ehrhardt, *From History to Pre-history at Nevasa* (Poona, 1960—hereinafter cited as *Nevasa*), p. 69. On p. 67, however, Period IV is stated to have lasted from *c.* 150 B.C. to 50 B.C.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 67-69-70; *Indian Archaeology-1959-60-A Review*, p. 25.
31. *Nevasa*, pp. 67, 69-70. According to the later revised date, however, the beginning of Period V has to be placed about the commencement of the Christian era.
32. NBP ware sherds have been encountered in layers 3 and 4 of Trench Y assigned to Period IV. See *ibid.*, Fig. 84, p. 65.
33. This coin has been found in layer 3 of Trench Y. See *ibid.*, Fig. 84, p. 163.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 162. Also cf. p. 69, where coins have been stated to have been used as a principal evidence for dating the occupation of the weathered layer by the inhabitants of Period IV.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 162; *JNSI*, Vol. XXII, p. 145.
36. These coins come from layer 8 of Trench E and layer 3 of Trenches I and X. *Navasa*, Fig. 84 and pp. 171-172.
37. *Ibid.*, Fig. 84, p. 65.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 199-200.
39. *JNSI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 164-169.
40. S.B. Deo and M.K. Dhavalikar, *Paunar Excavation* (Nagpur, 1968), pp. 13-14.
41. P.L. Gupta ("Sātavāhana Coins from Excavations", *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and Coins from Excavations* (ed. Ajay Mitra Shastri), pp. 132 ff.) has also suggested, on independent grounds, first century BC or AD as the beginning of Period IV. However, his date for the *terminus ad quem* of Period V, *i.e.*, third-fourth century AD, does not admit of acceptance for the reasons discussed above.
42. For the description of this coin, see ch. ii below.
43. Rouletted ware has been reported from Kanchipuram, Kesanapalli, Salihundam and other sites also and is dated from about mid-first century BC. At Salihundam the excavator has proposed to date the Rouletted ware to *circa* second century BC on the basis of a few Brāhmī characters found on the sherds. However, the sherds were inscribed after firing and have been actually recovered from the Middle phase which is dated by the excavator himself between first-second century and third-fourth century AD. It is noteworthy that not a single Rouletted ware sherd has been reported from the Early phase at the site dating from second-third century BC to first-second century AD. The scribbling is obviously post-firing, and as such the ware cannot be dated earlier than the Middle phase.
44. We owe the information about the stratigraphic position of the coin at Satanikota to Dr. Kellellu Ismail.
45. See *Exploration, Excavation Bulletin*, No. 1. Birla Archaeological and Cultural Research Institute, Hyderabad, p. 24. The author indulges in wild conjectures about the Sātavāhana monarch's supposed visit to the Roman empire.
46. "Pre-Sātavāhana and Sātavāhana Coinage of the Deccan", Presidential Address of the 69th session of the Numismatic Society of India, (Sambalpur, 1981), *JNSI*, xliv, p. 8. The excavators themselves have now given up their original position. See T.V.G. Sastri, M. Kasturi Bai and J. Vara Prasada Rao, *Veerapuram*, pp. 86-87 (where the piece is described as a Roman bulla) and the photographs on the jacket.
47. For discussion of all this evidence, see *JNSI*, xliv, pp. 2-5. A large number of uninscribed cast and die-struck pieces as well as pre-Satāvāhana inscribed coins is available in the rich collections of Mr. Raghunath Sanghi, Mr. P.K. Kulkarni and other collectors.

48. S.B. Deo, "A New Type Sri Sātakarṇi", *Early Indian Indigenous Coins* (ed. D.C. Sircar), pp. 111-12; Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Pauni Excavations* (ed. S.B. Deo and J.P. Joshi), pp. 99-100.
49. K. Gopalachari, for instance, places Sātakarṇi I's reign between *c.* 212 and 195 BC. See *A Comprehensive History of India*, ii (ed. K.A. Nilakantha Sastri), p. 301.
50. P.L. Gupta, *Punch-Marked Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum* (Hyderabad, 1961), pp. 31-33; *JNSI*, xvi, pp. 86-87; D.C. Sircar, *The Age of Imperial Unity* (*A History and Culture of the Indian People*, ii, ed. R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalkar), p. 159. It is not our intention to sugget that these legends were based on borrowed from those found on Indo-Greek coins. But the idea of inserting legends on Indian coins was probably inspired by Indo-Greek issues.
51. *JNSI*, xxiv, Pt. i, p. 4. This possibility is, however, ruled out by the recent discovery of the coins of Simuka which shows that the Sātavāhanas were in the habit of issuing inscribed coins with the legends giving the name and title of the issuing chief in genitive singular as on Indo-Greek and successor issues.
52. *ND*, vol. ii, part i, pp. 10ff.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 13ff.
54. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, i, 2nd ed., p. 191, no. 6.
55. V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, iii, pp. 5-6.
56. vol. v, part i, pp. 8-14.
57. This is proved by the Tarhāḷā and Brahmapurī (Akola and Chanda district respectively) hoards which contain a large number of coins of all the Sātavāhana rulers from the time of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi to the time of the last member of the dynasty, Puḷumāvi IV.
58. Silver portrait coins of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi, Vāsishṭhīputra Skanda Sātakarṇi, Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi and Viḷaya Sātakarṇi are known. Some portrait coins have been attributed to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi also; but their ascription is extremely doubtful for want of clear legend.
59. *EI*, xiv, pp. 143 ff., text-line 2.
60. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, i, p. 463, text-line 27.
61. Excavations have shown that this is a fairly ancient site and prospered under the Sātavāhanas,
62. *Ibid.*, p. 191, no. 1.
63. *ND*, vol. ii, part i, pp. 10-13.
64. On the coins and in the Nāṇeghāt label inscriptions respectively.
65. Cf. Chātamūla for Śāntamūlā and Chānta for Śānta. See *Proceedings*.

2

SĀTAVĀHANA PRINCE ŚAKTIKUMĀRA : NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

The late Jain tradition dating from circa thirteenth century A.D. shows familiarity with a Sātavāhana prince named Śaktikumāra. Though sometimes identified doubtfully with Sati-sirimata mentioned in the larger Naneghat inscription as well as Kumāra Hakusiri of a Naneghat label inscription and king Sāti known from certain early coins from Central India, he was till recently no more than a legendary personage. Attention is here invited to recently discovered valuable numismatic evidence which seems to place his historicity beyond doubt.

The *Kalpa-pradīpa*, or better known as *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa*,[1] a compilation of sixty-three small treatises (*Kalpas*), composed by the renowned Jain Ācharya Jinaprabhasūri at different dates ranging between V.S. 1364 and 1389, both years included,[2] with overlaps on either side, contains a beautiful narrative of anecdotes connected with various localities which were renowned Jain centres of pilgrimage (*tīrthas*) and frequented by the Jain pilgrims during the early mediaeval period. Most of them appear to have been well-known from a much earlier period and were believed to have been sanctified by some important events in the history of Jainism, more especially in the lives of the Jain Tīrthankaras. They include Śatruñjaya,[3] Raivataka, Ujjayanta, Ahichchhatrā, Mt. Abu, Mathurā, Kauśāmbī, Ayodhyā, Hastināpura, Mithilā, Kāmpilya, Aṇahilapura, Nāsika, Avanti (Ujjain), Champā, Pāṭaliputra, Śrāvasti and Vārāṇasī, most of them well-known from great antiquity, and a host of other places. Some of these centres claim more than one *kalpa*. In addition to religious narratives, numerous interesting anecdotes of a secular nature are also found embedded and are of considerable interest to students of Indian history and historical geography. While most of the narratives are Jain in origin, there are others drawn from non-Jain sources as well. Two *kalpas* (33 and 34) of this work are of special interest to us in the present context. One of them (No. 33), captioned Pratishṭhānapura-kalpa, deals with the ancient city of Pratishthāna (modern Paithan, Aurangabad District, Maharashtra), the reputed capital of the Sātavāhanas. This is stated to have been based on hearsay reports

(*yathā-śruta*).[4] The other *kalpa* (no. 34), which follows, is styled *Pratishṭhāna-purādhipati-Sātavāhana-nṛipacharitra* and, as indicated by the title, deals with king Sātavāhana of Pratishṭhānapura.[5] At the very outset in the very opening sentence this account is reported to have followed popular non-Jain traditions (*parasamaya-loka-prasiddha*) and been narrated incidentally (*prasaṅgataḥ*)[6] This section is, in particular, replete with incredible and impossible anecdotes which are, again, reported to have been taken from other, *viz.*, non-Jain, traditions, for, it is asserted, the Jains cannot speak askew.[7] What these non-Jain traditions were is nowhere stated, but at another place in the midst of the narrative we come across the word *avadāna* [8] which was specially popular with the Buddhists, and there is a special class of Buddhist narrative literature known by this name. It is, therefore, not unlikely that there may have been both Buddhist and Hindu traditions in addition to the Jain ones, and what we have here represents an amalgam of Jain, Hindu and Buddhist floating traditions. Be that as it may, these two sections are of considerable value for the history of the Sātavāhanas and their metropolis Pratishṭhāna, especially as regards a few of the legends floating about them during the mediaeval period.[9] There is no doubt that both these sections are full of incredible legends in the nature of folk-tales about the early history of the Sātavāhanas. However, at the same time the fact remains that these tales are woven round parsonages, *e.g.*, Sātavāhana, Hāla, Śūdraka, etc., whose historicity is unimpeachably vouched for by other epigraphic, literary and numismatic data. And at the close of this story we find the statement that Śaktikumāra, who is described as *Sātavāhanāvani*, was installed monarch at Pratishṭhāna.[10] That he was an early member of the Sātavāhana dynasty is clearly indicated by his mention immediately after Sātavāhana (and his alleged accomplice Śūdraka) who, from the tenor of the description, appears to have been the first member of the dynasty, may be identical with Simuka Sātavāhana.[11] In any case, the description may be taken to indicate that he flourished about the beginning of the Christian era.[12] The same conclusion may be arrived at from Ananta's heroic poem (into thirty chapters) *Vīra-charita*, which also refers to events supposed to have taken place at Pratishṭhāna on the Godāvarī in connection with king Śālivāhana,[13] the alleged conqueror of king Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī, and his son Śaktikumāra.[14] However, in spite of the admitted historicity of most of the personages mentioned in these narratives till now historians were, by and large, not prepared to concede Śaktikumāra's historical existence. But of late a valuable numismatic evidence has come to light which makes his historicity unquestionable, and we are analysing the same in these pages.

The recent excavations at Śātanikoṭa (15°55′ N; 78° 14′ E) situated on the right bank of the Tungabhadra in the Nandikotkur Taluq of the Kurnool District of Andhra Pradesh conducted by the Excavation Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur, under Professor N.C. Ghosh with a view to ascertain its

archaeological potential before the site is submerged under water on the completion of the Srisailam Hydro-Electric Project have brought to light three occupational phases. Period I belongs to the Late Stone Age while, in Period II the settlement was fortified. From the earliest deposits of Period II within the fortified area ceramics, terracotta figurines, beads, iron objects, tiles with a couple of perforations for fixing them to the roof with the help of nails and similar other objects have been found. This is datable from *circa* 1st century B.C. to *c.* 3rd century A.D. Period III represents the mediaeval times. The site witnessed greatest prosperity in its history during Period II as indicated by the excavated finds.

The excavated finds of Period II include a unique lead coin,[15] roughly circular in shape with a diameter ranging from 2.3 to 2.5 cms. It weighs 7.773 gms. or 120 grains. The coin is in an excellent state of preservation though, as will be seen from the following description, full or parts of some of the latters and devices on the obverse have gone out of flan and give rise to some difficulty in the full restoration of the legend. This is due to the fact that the die was much larger than the metallic flan. The coin may be described as follows:

Obverse: In the middle on left, a *triratna* with a smaller circle within another larger circle, pellets around it; on right three slightly curved vertical lines, the middle one being somewhat longer than the two flanking lines; a crescent slightly above but separated from the upper right limb of the *triratna*. The top horizontal stroke of the left limb of the *triratna* is somewhat broader than that of its right limb. Above the right half of the *triratna*, a *vāmāvarta* (anti-clockwise) *svastika* instead of the usual *dakshiṇāvarta svastika* (clockwise); to its right lower portion of taurin or *nandipada*. Legend in early Brāhmī characters to the right of the two last-mentioned devices beginning at about 2 O'clock may be read as *Kumārasa sira-Sata*. (Alternatively it may be read as *Siri-Sata Kumāra rasa*; see below).

Reverse: A square divided into two zones by a horizontal line running across it, the upper one being almost twice the size as compared to the lower one. In the upper zone, a tree with artistically designed cursive trunk and branches and leaves and fruits represented in the form of pellets. The lower rectangle depicts a wavy line symbolising river and some aquatic creatures.

The coin is undoubtedly struck from dies. On the obverse the incuse mark is clear from about 10 O'clock to about 6 O'clock. It must have run across the entire periphery but for the fact that the metal blank was smaller than the die. On the reverse the left side of the square frame from top to bottom has remained

off the flan, while the right side is almost fully accommodated. The lower portion of the frame has also remained unaccommodated. This also is due to the smallness of the flan and lack of necessary care on the part of the person responsible for striking the die.

Of the abverse devices, only the lower portion of the *nandipada* has been accommodated. But on a careful examination of the coin the portion of the curved lines or a semi-circle rising from the upper portion of the circle can be seen quite clearly. Initially one may be tempted to read it as *ma*, but this letter has no place in the legend, for reading it as *ma*, would not enable us to get sense out of the legend. It appears that the two symbols on the top, *i.e.*, *svastika* and *nandipada*, marked the termination and beginning respectively of the legend which seems to have commenced immediately after the *nandipada*. There is no difficulty in reading the first four letters of the legend, *i.e.*, *Kumārasa*, as each of them together with the medial signs is fully accommodated on the coin. The next letter may be read as *si* though it was engraved in the die in a rather peculiar manner and the shape of the letter *s* does not exactly agree with the same letter at the end of the word *Kumārasa*. The next letter is undoubtedly *ra* and was intended for *ri*, the medial sign for *i* having gone off the flan. The complete word is thus intended for *siri*. Next to it we see the lower portion of the letters *sa* and *ta*. Following the usual practice the legend must have ended in the genitive singular so that the concluding letter after *ta* must have been *sa*. As the die-cutter did not succeed in accommodating this letter before the *svastika*, he must have engraved it above it, but it is not accommodated on the coin. The last word, therefore, may be restored as *satasa*. The entire legend was thus in all probability *Kumārasa siri-Satasa*. Alternatively it may be suggested that the legend began at about 8 O'clock with the word *sira(ri)* and ended with *Kumārasa*, the symbols *svastika* and *nandipada* acting as a dividing line between two parts of the legend. In that case the legend will have to be restored as *Sira(ri) Sata(sa*) Kumārasa*. Though it has been suggested above that the letter *ta* was probably followed on the die by *sa* which has not been accommodated on the coin, as at present there is some space above the *svastika* which is left blank and there is absolutely no trace of any letter in that space. It is thus likely that there was no letter intended to be engraved in the space above *svastika*, and the whole legend is accommodated on the two sides of the devices *svastika* and *nandipada* which are almost in alignment with the letters flanking them. In that case the legend will have to be restored as *Sira(ri) Satakumārasa*. It is interesting to note in this connection that on some other Sātavāhana coins also some devices are noticed in between the legend, and on a large number of coins in the Peddabankur (Karimnagar District, Andhra Pradesh) hoard[16] *śrīvatsa* alone or in combination with some other devices is found dividing the legend into two parts. It must be pointed out that we meet with two different forms of *s* in the legend. The *sa* preceding *ta* and that following *ra* have practically an identical form, the

apparent difference being due to the fact that of the *sa* preceding *ta* only the lower portion has been accommodated, the upper portion of the left limb being off the flan. The *s* of *si* before *ra* in the word *sira(ri)* presents a somewhat different appearance because the medial sign for *i* is attached to the right limb instead of the left limb as usual and also because the loop attached to the left limb has turned into almost a complete circle but for the presence of a slight gap in it. The absence of this slight gap between its right end and the lower portion of the main body of the letter might have led one to read the letter as *ma*, The presence of such slightly differing forms of the same letter in the same inscription or coin legend is not unusual and should not surprise one familiar with inscriptions and coins.

As only the lower portions of the letters *sa* and *ta* before the *svastika* are accommodated on the coin and their verticals are off the flan, it is difficult to ascertain if any medial sign was attached to the tops of these letters. However, as *Sata* by itself is unlikely to have been used as a proper name, it is likely that the letters were not without medial signs. We know of a fairly good number of coins from Central India[17] belonging to the early centuries of the Christian era which bear the name *Sāti*. We may therefore hazard the conjecture that the intended name on the issuer of the present coin was also *Sāti*. The entire legend was thus intended to be *Kumārasa siri-Sātisa* or *Siri-Sāti Kumārasa*, and the coin was thus issued by a chief named Sāti. It may be mentioned in this connection that a prince named Sati (Sati-sirimata)[18] is mentioned in the larger Naneghat (Pune District, Maharashtra) inscription which aims at describing the sacrifices performed by a queen. This inscription is commonly attributed to the Sātavāhanas and taken to belong to Nāganikā, the widowed queen of Sātakarṇi. But recently this view has been questioned by P.L. Gupta.[19] Be that as it may, it appears reasonable to identify Sati-sirimata of this inscription with king Sāti known from the above-mentioned coins. According to the legend as restored by us, the present coin also may be reasonably attributed to the same chief. But there is a significant difference between the present coin on the one hand and other hitherto known coins of Sāti on the other. Typologically speaking, there is absolutely no similarity between them. And as regards the legend, while the name of the king on Central Indian coins is preceded by the regal title *rājan* in genitive singular in its Prakrit form *raño* in addition to the honorific *siri*, on the present coin we find the title *Kumāra* instead of the usual *rājan*. It may therefore be concluded justifiably that our coin was issued by Sāti at the time when he was functioning as a crown-prince (*Yuvurāja*) and was put in charge of the administration of the province comprising the presen Kurnool District and the adjoining area of Andhra Pradesh and Karnāṭaka. It may be mentioned in this connection that the minting of coins was not treated as a royal prerogative in ancient India, and there are numerous instances of persons occupying a subordinate position issuing coins in their own names. To cite only a

few examples, coins issued by the Mahāraṭhis who occupied a subordinate position under the Sātavāhanas in the Chitaldurg area of Karṇāṭaka,[20] Virāpuram (Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh)[21] and the Vidarbha region of Mahārashtra[22] are well known. Similarly, the coins issued by the Mahātalavaras Mahāgrāmikas and possibly Mahāsenāpatīs have also come to light.[23] We also know of a fairly good number of coins issued by traders-organisations (*nigamas*)[24] and the organisation of such professionals as perfumers (*gandhika*)[25] and administrative organisations of some of the ancient cities including Vārāṇasi, Kauśāmbī, Tripurī, Vidiśā, Māhishmatī, Ujjayinī, Ayodhyā, Tagara, etc.[26] There is therefore nothing surprising if a crown-prince occupying an important administrative position issued or was authorised to issue coins in his own name. To our knowledge, this is so far the only coin known to have been issued by a prince of royal blood occupying the position of the crown-prince and holding an administrative charge.

Who was this *Kumāra Sāta* (*Sāti*)? As pointed out at the very outset, Jain tradition enshrined in the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*[27] refers to one Saktikumāra who is reported to have been a son of king Sātavāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna. While we may not be quite sure about the correctness of the tradition regarding Śaktikumāra, son of Sātavāhana, there is no reason to doubt his historicity, and he has, in fact, been often identified with king Sāti of Central Indian coins and Kumāra Hakusiri (Śaktiśrī) mentioned in a label inscription in the Naneghat pass.[28] Once the historicity of prince Śaktikumāra is conceded, Kumāra Sāta (Sāti) responsible for issuing the present coin can be easily identified with him. It may perhaps be argued that while the name of the son of Śālivāhana is given as Śaktikumāra in the Jaina tradition, the coin under publication names him as Kumāra Sāta (Sāti). It is interesting to note in this connection that in ancient India the honorific or *biruda* could be mentioned either before or after the personal name, there being no fixed rule about its position. To cite an instance, on the obverse of some Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type coins the word *Śrī* is prefixed to the name of the queen, while on others it is suffixed to her name.[29] Similarly, we know that Deva or Devagupta was the 'dear name' (*Priyanāma*) of the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II Vikramāditya.[30] But on many of his coins the honorific *śrī* is suffixed to the name Deva.[31] Therefore, the title Kumāra could be used either before or after the personal name. In fact, keeping in view the structure of the legend on contemporary coins of the Deccan where the regal title *rājan* and the honorific *śri* are invariably prefixed to the personal name of the king.[32] the princely title *Kumāra* together with the honorific *śrī* should also be expected to precede the personal name of the prince. In later times when the word *Kumāra* came to be popularly employed as a name ending, *Kumāra* Śakti also came to be popularly known as Śaktikumāra. It is interesting to note in this connection that the name Śaktikumāra is met with only in the late medieval Jaina traditions, there being no reference to him in early texts. In case, however, the legend is taken to begin with the word *siri* and end with *Kumārasa*,

there will be absolutely no difficulty in identifying the issuer of this coin with Śaktikumāra of the Jaina tradition. The coin, thus, proves for the first time the existence of prince Śaktikumāra even though no claim can be laid to the historicity of all the different stories associated with his name.[33]

A few observations may be made *en passim* on the name of the findspot of this coin, Śatanikoṭa, which is indeed very interesting historically. The antiquity of the present name, according to available evidence, goes back at least to the Vijayanagara period. We learn from the 16th century. Telugu work *Rāmarājyamu*,[34] also known as *Narapativijayamu* by Nandugula Venkayya, a contemporary of Aḷiya Rāmārāya, the son-in-law of the Tuḷuva emperor Krishṇadevarāya of Vijayanagara, that the Āravidu king Somadeva, a predecessor of Rāmārāya, conquered seven forts in a series ending with Śātanikoṭa. It is worthwhile to note that the other six forts[35] mentioned in this connection are all situated in Andhra-Karnataka area adjoining Śātanikoṭa. There can, therefore, be no doubt that this Śātanikoṭa, mentioned by Nandugula Venkayya, is the same as the modern village of Śātanikoṭa. Moreover, the remains of fortification of the mediaeval period on the eastern side of the village put a seal of finality on this identification. The name Śātanikoṭa is obviously a corrupted form of the name Sātavāhanakoṭa, *i.e.*, the fort of the Sātavāhanas. The name is comparable to Sātavahanihāra which is a corrupted form of Sātavāhanāhāra (*i.e.*, a Sātavāhana district) and is mentioned in the Myākadoni inscription (popularly known as Adoni inscription) of the Sātavāhana king Puḷumāvi dated in the eighth year of his reign.[36] V.S. Sukthankar, who edited the inscription, identified this Puḷumāvi with Vāsishṭīputra Puḷumāvi, son of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.[37] V.V. Mirashi has, however, recently proposed to identify him with the last Sātavāhana king of that name.[38] Be that as it may, the findspot of this inscription is not very far from Sātanikoṭa and is actually situated in the same district. The inscription thus clearly establishes that the area surrounding Śātanikoṭa was included within the dominions of the Sātavāhanas in the 2nd-3rd centuries of the Christian era. This fact combined with the discovery of the coin in question and the Jaina tradition about Śaktikumāra, thus, seems to indicate that Śātanikoṭa was under the Sātavāhanas and was an important fortified military centre of the period and may as well have been headquarters of the province administered by Kumāra Sāta (Sāti) as a Viceroy. The stratigraphy of the excavation may perhaps be taken to indicate that Śaktikumāra flourished about the first century A.D. and his coin was encountered in the earlier layer of period II which is, as stated above, roughly datable from about the middle of the first century B.C. to about the middle of the third century A.D.

If Kumāra Sāta (Sāti) of this coin is the same as king Sāti of Central Indian coins, it will follow that as a prince he ruled over the Kurnool region of Andhra Pradesh and later after the death of his father when there was division of the empire[39] he had to shift his headquarters northwards.

It will follow from the foregoing discussion that the excavations at Śātanikoṭa have given us the unique coin of Prince Śaktikumāra which has thrown considerable light on the history of the Sātavāhanas besides confirming the existence of prince Śaktikumāra so far known from the late Jaina tradition alone.[40]

Notes and References

1. Edited by Jina Vijaya; Singhi Jain Series, No. 10, Santiniketan, 1934.
2. These two years are specifically mentioned. See Kalpa 11, p. 23; p. 109, verse 3.
3. In fact, the work begins with an account of this *tīrtha.*
4. *Ibib.*, pp. 59-60.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-64.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 61 and 64.
7. *Atra cha yad asambhāvyaṁ kvachid ūche tatra para-samaya eva/Mantavyo hetur yan n-āsaṅgata-vāg jano Jainaḥ/Ibid.*, p. 63.
8. *Itthaṁkāram nānā-vidhāny-avadānāni Halā-kshitipālasya. Ibid.*, p. 63.
9. We have yet another section called 'Pratishṭhāna-pattana-kalpa' (no. 23, p. 47) which also refers to traditions concerning Vikrama, Kālaka and Sātavāhana but is of no concern to us in the present context.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
11. This is the full form of the name found in a label inscription at Naneghat and, in a slightly different from (Chhimuka Sātavāhana), on coins. There seems to be some confusion between Sātavāhana and Hāla in the story as narrated in the *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa*; for, after describing the feats of Sātavāhana and his accomplice Śūdraka, the same are referred to as the *avadānas* of king Hāla. Then is mentioned the demise of Śūdraka which is said to have been followed by Śaktikumāra's accession.
12. King Sātavāhana, who is said to have been succeeded by Śaktikumāra, has been credited with a victory over kind Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī. The former may accordingly be taken as a junior contemporary of, or not far removed chronologically from Vikramāditya who flourished in the first century B.C.
13. For references, see M. Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, para 202, p. 275 as well as notes on p. 276.
14. I owe most of these references to Dr. U.P. Shah of Baroda.
15. *Indian Archaeology-1977-78-A Review*, pp. 3-11 & p. 4, fig. 1a.
16. This observation is based on the examination of the hoard by us.
17. For references and detailed discussion, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, 'Sātavāhana Coins from Malwa', *Indore University Research Journal*, V, pp. 1-9.
18. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, p. 194, Text line 4. The use of the honorific (*sirimata srimat*) after the name need cause no surprise as according to the mannerism obtaining in ancient India the honorific could be used either before or after the personal name.
19. *Studies in Indian Epigraphy* (*JESI*), II, pp. 59-71.
20. See the coin with the legend *Sadakaṇa Kalalāya Mahāraṭhī* (Rapson, *BMC*, *AWK*, pl. lxxxii & lxxxiii, pl. VIII, no. 234).
21. Information from Dr. T.V.G. Shastri, Director, Birla Archaeological and Cultural Research Institute, Hyderabad.
22. *JNSI*, XXXV, PP. 236-237.

23. D.C. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, pp. 139-144.
24. Allan, *BMC, AI*, pp. cxxv-cxxx; 214-218.
25. K.D. Bajpai, *Indian Numismatic Studies*, pp. 3 and 52-53.
26. *JNSI*, XXXVIII (ii) pp. 35-54.
27. See also H.C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 6th ed, p. 417 and note 4; D.C. Sircar in *The Age of Imperial Unity* (Ed. R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusakear), p. 199. Also see *A Comprehensive History of India* (Ed. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri), II, p. 303.
28. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 191.
29. A.S. Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 33.
30. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 281, Text-lines 7 and 8. It states that Devarāja was his dear name. In some Vākāṭaka inscriptions the name of the father of Prabhāvatīgupta is given as Devagupta.
31. A.S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 99 (Archer type).
32. *E.G*: On the Sātavāhana coins the personal name of the king is invariably preceded by the royal title *rājan* and the honorific *śri* in addition to the matronyfic which is absent on some of the coins.
33. The dynastic list of Purāṇas refers to as many as 8 Andhra kings whose names contained the word Svāti. See *BMC, AWK*, pp. lxvi-to-lxvii, One may perhaps argue that the Śātanikoṭa coin should be attributed to one of these rulers, Sāti being a corrupt or Prakrit from of Svāti. But this is rendered impossible by the fact that on the only known coin of Meghasvāti, Svāti is Prakritised as Sada. See *Ibid.*, PL. V, No. G.P.S. Even if it is conceded that *svāti* could also be Prakritised as *Sāti*, the presence of the letter *gha* on the coin of Meghasvāti would show that in cases where *svāti* formed the concluding part of the name, the first part of the name was also given on the coins.
34. S. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, Madras 1919, pp. 79-82; K.A. Nilakantha Sastri and N. Venkataramanaiah, *Further sources of Vijayanagara History* (Madras, 1946), III, p. 6, and Mac. Mss. 13-2-19, pp. 284-85.
35. Mosalimadugu, Kandanavolu (Kurnool), Kalavakolanu, Rāchur (Raichur), Etagiri (Yādagiri) and Gaginenikoṇda. See K.A.N. Sastri and N. Venkataramanaiah, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
36. *EI*, XIV, p. 155.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
38. *The History and Inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas*, pp. 85-86.
39. It seems that the Sātavāhana empire was divided between Sāti, i.e., Śaktikumāra, and Sātavāhana who is obviously identical with Kumāra Sātavāhana of a Naneghat label inscription. (D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, p. 191). The division seems to be indicated by the findspots of their respective coins, coins of Sāti being confined to northern and those of Sātavāhana to the southern portions of the dominions of the Sātavāhans.
40. P.L. Gupta *Numismatic Digest*, v (1), pp. 14-16) is critical of our view and does not agree with our description of some of the obverse devices and the reading/restoration of a part of the legend. But he himself refrains from proposing any reading. We are inclined to differ from him.

3

IDENTITY OF VĀSISHṬHĪPUTRA ŚIVAŚRĪ PUḶUMĀVI

For information about the history of the Sātavāhanas we have to depend almost entirely on the king-lists met with in the historical sections of some of the Purāṇas and their own inscriptions and coins. In many a case ambiguous statements, linguistic errors and variant readings in the Purāṇas, sometimes coupled with personal obsessions, have led historians to divergent interpretations and severe controversies. One such controversy, and a fierce one at that, relates to the identity of Śivaśrí Pulomā who is said to have followed Gautamīputra's son and successor Pulomā, *viz.*, Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, and ruled for seven years. Some of the Purāṇas mention him simply as Śivaśrī, while others drop him altogether from the list of Andhra kings. Consequently widely divergent views are held regarding his identity. Some scholars deny his separate existence altogether and identify him with Vāsishthīputra Puḷumāvi and take Śivaśrī as a mere honorific of the latter. This total denial of his independent existence is prompted by, *inter alia*, the uncalled for sanctity attached to the statement of some of the Purāṇas that there were thirty Andhra-jātīya kings, which does not admit of verification. Following a reading in the *Vishṇu-Purāṇā*, some scholars are inclined to identify Śivaśrī with Vasishthīputra Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi whose name is proposed to be read on a few coins which in reality do not exist. Still others regard him as the immediate successor of Vāsishthīputra Puḷumāvi and distinguish him from the so-called Vāsishthīputra Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi. The entire problem is discussed here threadbare, and it is shown with the help of recently discovered epigraphic and numismatic data, more particularly silver portrait coins, that Vāsishthīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi of coins and inscriptions, who is evidently identical with Śivaśrī Pulomā of the Purāṇas, was different from Vāsishthīputra Puḷumāvi and that he followed on the throne Vāsishthīputra Sātakarṇi who was himself the successor of his brother Vāsishthīputra Puḷumāvi. It is also demonstrated that the Purāṇic evidence in this matter is incomplete agreement with that derived from inscriptions and coins.

One of the several problems concerning the Andhra-Sātavāhanas that still continues to elude a satisfactory solution centres round the identity of king Śivaśri Puḷumāvi and his place in the dynasty. This is mainly due to the apparent lack of even near unanimity in the Purāṇic list of the Andhra-Sātavāhana chiefs after

Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puḷumāvi, the son and successor of the great Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. The relevant Purāṇic text constituted after scanning a large mass of manuscript material runs as follows:[1]

Rājā tu Gautamīputra ekaviṁśat tato nṛipaḥ
Ashṭāviṁśaḥ sutas=tastya Pulomā vai bhavishyati
Śivaśrīr=vai Pulomā tu sapt-aiva bhavitā nṛipaḥ

According to this text, Gautamīputra, *i.e.*, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, was followed by his son Pulomā, *viz.*, Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi of inscriptions and coins, who ruled for 28 years and the latter was succeeded by Śivaśrī Puḷoma who reigned for seven years. While the identity of the first two monarch is, as indicated in these lines, firmly established beyond doubt, the same cannot be said about the third chief about whom, as will be seen in the sequel, there is a wide divergence of opinion.

The above lines are met with, with minor variations, in a vast majority of the manuscripts of the *Matsya Purāṇa* which, it is admitted on all hands, furnishes the fullest list of the Andhra-Sātavāhana rulers. Most of the manuscripts of the *Viṣhṇu Purāṇa* also mention Śivaśrī, but without suffixing Pulomā to it.[2] All but one manuscripts of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* omit all the names between Gautamīputra (*i.e.*, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi) and Yajñaśrī (viz., Yajna Sātakarṇi).[3] The same is true of *Brahmāṇḍa* list. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* also drops all the names after Sundara Sātakarṇi, No. 20 of the constituted list.[4] In view of these facts it is not at all surprising if the name of Śivaśrī Pulomā is not mentioned in the lists found in most of the *Vāyu* manuscripts, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Bhāgavata* which omit so many other names also.

However, a highly defective manuscript of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, styled *e* Vāyu by Pargiter,[5] which is a unique exception to all the other manuscripts of the text, contains a line which avers that a king named Sātakarṇi will rule for twenty-nine years:[6]

Ekonaviṁśati bhāvyaḥ śatakarṇīstato nṛipaḥ

After this it has a highly corrupt line which refers to Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi, obviously the same as Śivaśrī Pulomā of the *Matsya Purāṇa*.[7] Pargiter was extremely doubtful about the place of Sātakarṇi in the dynastic line, specially because the manuscript in question is highly defective and perfunctory and drops even such well-known names as Gautamīputra and Pulomā. However, in his constituted list he placed him as No. 24*a* within a square bracket after Pulomā, *viz.*, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi (No. 24) and mentioned next to him as No. 25 Śivaśrī omitting Pulomā which, too, is found suffixed to his name in the constituted text. So according to

this constituted list, the order of succession after Gautamīputra was as under:

Pulomā
|
Sātakarṇi
|
Śivaśrī

Pargiter took note of this line even though found in a single defective manuscript of a single Purāṇa stating that "a line found in only one MS should not be rejected straight away."[81] He thought that "30 is no doubt the correct number" of the Andhra-Sātavāhana kings,[9] but when the inclusion of Sātakarṇi mentioned in this line raised it to 31, he observed "that the total 30 is a round number."[10] Though not clearly stated by Pargiter, he probably got a clue to this conclusion from the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*. Most of the manuscripts of this Purāṇa contain the expression *Śātakarṇī Śivaṣrīḥ*[11] which may be taken to mean that Śātakarṇi and Śivaśrī were parts of one and the same name, there being a single ruler called Sātakarṇi-Śivaśrī. The *Vishṇu* evidence was interpreted in this manner with its full implications by E.J. Rapson.[12] However, a single manuscript of the Purāṇa, called *I*Vṣ by Pargiter, mentions Sātakarṇi and Śivaśrī as two separate chiefs, the former preceding the latter: *tasy=āpi Śātakarṇiḥ tataś=Śivaśrīḥ*.[13] It was evidently on the basis of the *Vishṇu* evidence, particularly the latter reading, that Pargiter utilised the *e*Vā lines and gave Sātakarṇi a place before Śivaśrī in his constituted list of the Andhra-Sātavāhana kings even though it went against his firm conviction that the correct number of these chiefs was thirty. The dropping of the second part of the name, *viz.*, Pulomā, was also due to his excessive reliance on the *Vishṇu* evidence at the cost of the unanimous *Matsya* and *e*Vā tradition which adds Pulomā and Pulomāvi respectively after Śivaśrī.[14]

We have stated above, in brief of course, the Purāṇic evidence bearing on the identity of Śivaśrī Pulomā or Pulomāvi. Before we give our own interpretation it would be worthwhile to see how scholars have utilised and tried to interpret this evidence in their own way while studying numismatic material and reconstructing the history of the Andhra-Sātavāhanas. Evidently basing himself on the common *Vishṇu* reading which conjures up Sātakarṇi Śivaśrī as a single ruler, E.J. Rapson merely changed the position of the two components of the name putting Sātakarṇi at the end in conformity with the usual pattern in vogue among the Sātavāhanas and attributed to him a couple of round lead coins from the Krishna and Godavari districts of Andhra Pradesh. The portion of the legend accommodated on these specie includes the metronymic Vāsiṭhīputa (Vāsishṭhīputra) followed by Sivasiri (Śivaśrī). Conjecturing that the missing word following Sivasiri must have been *Satakaṇisa*, he proposed to restore the full legend as *Raño Vāsīṭhiputasa Sivasiri Sātakaṇisa* and accordingly ascribed these coins to a chief whom he called Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi.[15] This restoration of the legend and consequent

attribution, it need hardly be stressed, is based on the unquestioning reliance on the *Vishṇu* evidence. As will be shown in the sequel, this view, though erroneous, is followed by several other writers on the subject.

On a few potin coins included in the Brahmapuri (Chanda District) hoard of Sātavāhana coins the legend was conjecturally read by A.F.R. Hoernle as *(Si)vasiri-Puḷumāvisa*, but he was doubtful about the first letter of *Siva* being *si* and did not rule out the possibility of *raño*, not *Siva*, being the intended word.[16] Rapson thought that what was read as *Siva* might be the traces of some device, perhaps a conch-shell.[17] However, M.F.C. Martin asserted that a coin of this hoard purchased by him from P. Thorburn definitely has the legend *Sivasiri-Puḷumāvisa*.[18] Be that as it may, the Tarhala (Akola District) hoard contained as many as 32, and there might be a few more among those with the fragmentary legend *Puḷumāvisa*, round potin coins with the legend *Sivasiri-Puḷumāvisa* quite clear.[19] V.V. Mirashi, who published the hoard, was then of the opinion that these coins belonged to Śivaśrī Pulomā of the Purāṇas.[20] He thought it probable that Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi was a grandson of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi as in India children were often named after their grandfather.[21] As will be noticed later, Mirashi changed his opinion subsequently.

D.C. Sircar obviously follows the common *Vishṇu* evidence when he states that "according to the Purāṇic lists, Puḷumāvi's immediate successor was Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi" whom, following Rapson, he identifies with the socalled Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi of coins found in Krishna and Godavari districts.[22] He is, however, doubtful regarding the identification of Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, son-in-law of Rudradāman I, mentioned in a Kanheri inscription[23] with Śivaśrī though he suggests that Śivaśrī may have been his coronation name.[24]

K. Gopalachari distinguishes between Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, son-in-law of Rudradāman I, and Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi, the latter being later than the former. However, he concurred with Rapson in attributing the lead coins of the so-called Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi to Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi of the Kanheri inscription and a silver portrait coin.[25] He regarded Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi as a grandson of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi[26] though at the same time pointing out the honorific character of the words *śiva* and *śrī*.[27] It would thus seem that Gopalachari tried to reconcile the known literary, epigraphic and numismatic evidence by distinguishing these two rulers, though he appears to have been confused about the attribution of their respective coins and laboured under the impression that Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi also enjoyed the name or honorific prefix Śivaśrī for which there was no basis except Rapson's attribution of the above-mentioned lead coins from the Krishna and Godavari districts.

Gurty Venkat Rao also drew a line of demarcation between Śivaśrī and Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, the latter being, according to him, the brother of

Śivasvāti, predecessor of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.[28] Elsewhere, however, he describes Śivaśrī and Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi as brothers.[29] He regards Śivaśrī as the immediate successor of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi[30] and refers to him sometimes merely as Śivaśrī[31] and at other places as Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi,[32] but nowhere as Śivaśrī Pulomā (or Puḷumāvi). Thus, while in regard to the order of succession he seems to follow the *Matsya* evidence, as regards the name he seems to stick to the general *Vishṇu* evidence according to which he was known as Sātakarṇi Śivaśrī.

A.S. Altekar agreed with Rapson in ascribing the above-mentioned lead coins from the Krishna and Godavari Districts to Śivaśrī but he proposed to read the legend on them as *Raño Vāsiṭhiputasa Sivasirisa* as he found no trace of *Sātakaṇisa* following *Sivasiri.* He thought that Śivaśrī was probably a brother of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi and may have ruled over Andhra-deśa as his viceroy.[33] This was also the view of S.V. Bakhle.[34]

According to M. Rama Rao, Śivaśrī, mentioned as the successor or Puḷumāvi in the Purāṇas, is identical with Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi of the lead coins from coastal Andhra. But he distinguishes him from Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi of the potin coins from the Vidarbha region and the round and rectangular copper and lead coins in the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum, Hyderabad.[35] He surmises that Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi was "probably a member of one of the collateral branches of the Sātavāhana family."[36] He attributed to Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi not only coins with the legend *Raño Sivasiri-Puḷumāvisa* but also those with the legend *Raño Sivasirisa.*[37]

A few years ago Mirashi considered the problem afresh and arrived at conclusions diametrically opposed to his earlier views. He is now not prepared to accept Śivaśrī or Śivaśrī Pulomā of the Purāṇas as a separate entity because doing so would raise the total number of Sātavāhana kings to thirty-one, which would conflict with the consensus of the Purāṇas according to which the total number was thirty. Following the evidence of a reading of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* which, as we have seen above, says that Pulomā was succeeded by Sātkarṇi and the latter by Śivaśrī (*tasy=āpi Śātakarṇi=tataś=Śivaśrīḥ*), Śivaśrī Pulomā cannot be regarded as a grandson of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi; for, as Sātakarṇi was also a Vāsishṭhīputra and therefore a brother of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, Śivaśrī would be only his nephew, not grandson. Therefore he thought it more probable that Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi was the same as Vāsishṭhīputra Paḷumāvi, who, like Āpīlaka and Skanda Sātakarṇi, may have assumed *śivaśrī* as an honorific and prefixed it to his name on some coins while other coins were issued without this epithet. In other words, he now ascribed the coins with the legend *Raño Sivasiri-Pulumāvisa,* which were earlier attributed to Śivaṣri Pulomā of the Purāṇas, to Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi.[38] As for the identity of Śivaśrī of the Purāṇic list, he adopts the reading of a *Vihṇu* manuscript, *viz., Śātakarṇi Śivaśrīḥ,* and identifies Śivaśarī with Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi and attributes to him coins with the legend *Sivasirisa Sātakaṇisa,* evidently following

Altekar and Rama Rao who, as pointed out earlier, propose to read *Sivasirisa* on the lead coins from Andhradeśa on which Rapson tried to read *Raño Vāsiṭhīputasa Sivasiri Sātakaṇisa*. He preferred this view as it would keep the total number of the Sātavāhana kings to thirty as averred in some Purāṇas. As this view will conflict with the statement of the constituted Purāṇic text that Śivaśrī Pulomā would rule for seven years after Gautamīputra's son Pulomā, *i.e.*, Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, Mirashi adopts the reading of a solitary *Matsya* manuscript (called *j* Mt by Pargiter), *viz.*, *Śivaśrīr vai Pulomāt tu sapt-aiva bhavitā nṛipaḥ*, which he interprets in the sense that Śivaśrī (*viz.*, Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi) would reign for seven years after Pulomā. He takes *Pulomāt* as an ablative singular form from Pulomā and accounts for this strange from by reiterating Pargiter's conjecture[39] that the text of the dynastic lists of the Purāṇas was originally composed in Prakrit and was Sanskritised later.[40] In short, he altogether denies the existence of any Sātavāhana king named Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi and holds that Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi was succeeded by his brother Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi and the latter not by Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi as would follow from Pargiter's text but by Skanda Sātakarṇi.[41] He reiterated this position while publishing the Wategaon (Satara District) hoard which included as many as 369 round lead coins with the legend *Raño Vāsiṭhi-putasa Sivasiri-Puḷumāvisa* which, in keeping with his just mentioned view, he attributes to Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, son and successor of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, and takes these specie as an evidence of the extension of the Sātavāhana empire to the Kuntala region under Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi.[42] The recent discovery and publication by A.V. Narasimha Murthy and H.R. Raghunatha Bhatta of a short stone inscription found in the courtyard of the Madhukeśvara temple at Banavasi in the North Canara District of Karnataka and recording the erection of a sculptured stone block (*chhāyā-prastara*, in the present case, the inscribed stone itself) of the *mahādevī* (chief queen) of Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Pulumāvi[43] has an important bearing on the present problem and aught to have, in the normal course, sufficed to prove the difference between the two Puḷumāvis, *viz.*, Vāsishṭhīputra and Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī. However, he is of the opinion that this inscription also belongs to Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi who sometimes used the epithet *śivaśrī* for himself and that the inscription actually corroborates the conclusion drawn from the Wategaon hoard that the Kuntala area was annexed to the Sātavāhana dominions during the reign of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi.[44]

It will follow from the above gist of views held by some of the scholars that there prevails a lot of confusion and uncertainty regarding the identity of Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi. It will be noticed that some scholars altogether deny the separate identity of Śivaśrī Puḷumavi, while others hold that Śivaśrī of the Purāṇas is none else than Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi who, they think, is styled Śivaśrī on a few lead coins from coastal Andhra. Only a few scholars grant an independent existence to

Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi who is sometimes treated as a member of a collateral branch who may have served as a viceroy in a province of the Sātavāhana empire. All this is due not only to the variant readings in the dynastic text of the Purāṇas but mainly owing to the dropping of the name Puḷumāvi after Śivaśrī in the *Matsya* list by Rapson as well as in the constituted list by Pargiter and the adoption of the *Vishṇu* reading which makes Sātakarṇi and Śivaśrī a single ruler and attribution to this ruler of a few lead coins from the Krishna and Godavari districts of coastal Andhra by Rapson. Let us defer these points for a while and refer to an important numismatic evidence that has come to light very recently.

Of late, two silver portrait coins of Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi have been reported. One of them comes from a private collection[45] of Indore which is a well-known market for coins,[46] while the other was found in the excavation at Dhulikatta in Andhra Pradesh.[47] Like other Sātavāhana silver portrait coins, these are circular in shape and have the weight of a hemidrachm. They bear on the obverse the head of the king to right, with moustaches and curly hair, wearing *kuṇḍalas* in ears and a pearl-bordered *lalāṭikā* on the forehead and the Brāhmī-Prakrit legend *Raño Vāsiṭhiputasa Savasara Puḷumāvasa* standing for *Raño Vāsithiputasa Sivasiri Puḷumāvisa* along the edge on the obverse and Ujjain symbol capped by a crescent and a six-peaked hill, also surmounted by a crescent, with a radiate solar device between their upper portions and a wavy line below them and the Dravidian Prakrit-southern Brāhmī legend *Arahaṇaku Vāhiṭṭimākaṇaku Sivatiru Puḷumāviku*, which is a literal rendering of the obverse legend, along the circular border,[48] on the reverse.

These specie are of great importance for the history of the Sātavāhanas as they finally clinch the question under consideration. Silver portrait coins of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi are already known to numismatists,[49] and a comparison of the royal portrait on his coins and that on the coins described above will convince anyone that they represent two different personages. Vāsisṭhīputra Puḷumāvi is clean-shaven, almost straight-nosed, of a bulky built and has a protruding lower lip, while Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi is moustached, tight-lipped and hook-nosed. The ear-ornaments worn by the two are also of different designs and so are the forehead-ornaments. The curles of the hair on the coins of the two rulers are also depicted differently. We notice another important difference in the portraiture. On the coins of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi some portion below the neck is also represented while no portion underneath the neck is shown on the coins of Vāsisṭhīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi. It is thus more than clear that Vāsisṭhīputra Puḷumāvi and Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi have to be treated as different rulers. As the Purāṇas aver that Śivaśrī Pulomā ruled for seven years and at the moment there is nothing to contradict this statement and as his portrait on his hitherto known

silver coins depicts him as an old man, it may be reasonably concluded that he ascended the throne at a highly advanced age.

Now that the separate identity of Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi is established beyond doubt, a review of the attribution of some of the above-mentioned coins has become imperative. While it is not intended to deny altogether the use of *Śivaśrī* as an honorific,[50] there can be absolutely no doubt that in the present case Śivaśrī has to be taken as a distinctive name meant to distinguish him from the other Puḷumāvi who, too, like Śivaśrī, was a Vāsiṣṭhīputra. It is to be remembered in this connection that it is only in this case that the Purāṇas employ Śivaśrī as a proper name which alone must suffice to prove his independent existence. The use of the metronymic Vāsiṣṭhīputra for him may probably indicate that he was a uterine brother of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi and Vāsishṭhīputra Skanda Sātakarṇi.[51] It is well known that the Sātavāhana rulers issued their coins sometimes with and sometimes without metronymics. It is clear that the Chanda (Brahmapuri),[52] Tarhala[53] and other coins[54] with the legend *Raño Sivasiri Puḷumāvisa* and the Wategaon coins with the same legend with only the insertion of the word *Vāsiṭhiputasa* between *raño* and *Sivasiri* should all be ascribed to Śivaśrī Pulomā of the Purāṇas. There is now no question of these specie being regarded as the alternate issues of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi who employed *śivaśrī* as and honorific epithet on some coins and dropped it on others. The few lead coins from the Krishna-Godavari region of Andhra Pradesh attributed by Rapson to Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi[55] must also be attributed to Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi. For none of these coins contains even the slightest trace of the name Sātakarṇi, and their attribution by Rapson was based on the assumption drawn from the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* that Śivaśrī had Sātakarṇi as the second part of his name.[56] This assumption has given rise to some unfounded theories on the subject. But as will be shown shortly, there exists no evidence whatsoever to indicate the existence of any chief who could be called Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi. Therefore the missing letters after Śivaśrī on these coins, following the clue supplied by the Wategaon coins and the above-mentioned silver portrait issues, have to be conjured up as *Puḷumāvisa*. Similarly, although A.S. Altekar and M. Rama Rao referred to the coins with the legends *Raño Vāsiṣṭhiputasa Sivasirisa* and *Raño Sivasirisa* respectively and attributed them to Śivaśrī, no such coins really exist. Altekar's coins in question are really Rapson's coins on which he reads the letter *sa* after Sivasiri because he cannot find *Sātakaṇisa* on these pieces. But Altekar forgot, by oversight indeed, the fact that not a single letter, not of course *sa*, after Sivasiri is accommodated on the coins and Rapson had admittedly supplied *Sātakaṇisa* conjecturally.[57] Further, we could not find a single coin with the legend *Raño Sivasirisa* in Rama Rao, lists.[58] And lastly, the above-mentioned Banavasi inscription mentioning Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi's chief queen's *chhāya-prastara* also belongs to his reign. The conclusions based on its erroneous attribution to Vāsishthīputra Pulumāvi have therefore to be dropped.

Let us now review the relevant Purāṇic text in the light of the above facts. As we have seen above, after Gautamīputra's son and successor Pulomā most *Matsya* manuscripts name Śivaśrī Pulomā who is given a rule of seven years. The Purāṇas are reticent about the relationship between Pulomā and Śivaśrī Pulomā, but, as we have shown above judging from the sameness of the metronymic, they appear to have been uterine brothers. But did then they rule one after the other without a gap?

A satisfactory answer to this question is provided by a manuscript (*e*Vā of Pargiter) of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* which alone mentions a Sātakarṇi with a reign lasting twenty-nine years, and the next line indicates his place in the dynasty. It *e*Vā the next line runs as follows:

Śirasī-putra Āvis=tu chatasro bhavitā samāḥ[59]

As the line stands, it would mean that Āvi, son of Śirasī, would be king for four years. This line does not tally with any line in the dynastic text of the Purāṇas and is, therefore, obviously highly corrupted. The first half of the line actually seems to stand for *Śivaśrī Pulumāvis=tu* which would, thus, give the correct form of the name of the ruler as Śivaśrī Pulomāvi instead of Śivaśrī Pulomā found in the *Matsya* manuscripts. As regards the remainder of the line, we have to accept the reading *Saptaiva bhavitā nṛipaḥ*, which is found in all the *Matsya* manuscripts,[60] as more authentic and hold that Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi ruled for seven years. Thus, according to this manuscript of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Sātakarṇi was succeeded by Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi. The name of Sātakarṇi is omitted in the *Matsya Purāṇa* which furnishes the fullest list of the Andhra-Sātavāhana kings, but that is no reason to ignore him, particularly when we have enough epigraphic and numismatic evidence to vouch for his existence.[61] Sometimes we have to accept a reading found in a solitary manuscript in preference to one found in all other manuscripts if only it is warranted by some other, evidence.[62] The case here is, however, somewhat different and better. Sātakarṇi is not only named in a solitary manuscript of the *Vāyu Puṛāṇa* and his existence proved by inscriptions and coins, we have other Purāṇic evidence also about him. The manuscripts of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* have, as we have stated above, two sets of readings: (i)*Sātakarṇi Śivaśrīḥ* which would make Sātakarṇi Śivaśrī a single chief, (ii) *tasy=āpi Sātakarṇis=tataś=Śivaśrīḥ* according to which Pulomā (Vāsishthīputra Puḷumāvi) was followed by Sātakarṇi and the latter by Śivaśrī. Thus, the latter reading of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* also names both Sātakarṇi and Śivaśrī exactly in the same order as in the *e*Vā manuscript of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*. And as the separate existence of Sātakarṇi and Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi is known to have been attested by epigraphic and numismatic data, the second reading of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* is preferable. The first *Vishṇu* reading must therefore be treated as erroneous. It is this erroneous reading that has given rise to the naturally erroenous notion that Śivaśrī of the Purāṇas is identical with Sātakarṇi both of which

must be discarded now. It may be pointed out in this connection that though we know of numerous coins of Sātakarṇi in silver and base metals and inscriptions, he is nowhere called Śivaśrī which by itself suffices to set this identification at naught. The omission of Pulomā or Puḷumāvi after Śivaśrī in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* may have been due to the fact that at the time of the compilation of its dynastic text the chief in question was popularly known as Śivaśrī, and this by itself may have been found enough to disclose his identity. Alternatively, it may have been dropped deliberately with a view to distinguish him from the other Puḷumāvi who happened to be his uterine brother. But what seems to have confused modern historions is the omission of Puḷomā or Puḷumāvi after Śivaśrī in the *Matsya* list by Rapson and in the constituted list by Pargiter.

It would follow from the foregoing discussion that both Sātakarṇi ānd Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi were historical personages in their own right, and they aught not to be confused with each other. As for the non-mention of the former in the *Matsya* text which otherwise supplies the fullest list, the line mentioning him may have been dropped from it by oversight and must be supplied from the *e*Vā manuscript of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* which appears to have preserved the tradition correctly in this matter.

The next question we must answer is who came first, Sātakarṇi or Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi? As we have seen above, in the *e*Vā manuscript of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* Sātakarṇi is mentioned before Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi whlch evidently represents the tradition about the order of succession. The same conclusion may be drawn from the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* which also names Sātakarṇi before Śivaśrī. Actually, one of the readings supplied by the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* states unambiguously that Sātakarṇi was followed by Śivaśrī: *tasyāpi Sātakarṇis=tataḥ Śivaśrīḥ*. It may therefore be reasonably held that Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi came to throne after his brother Vāsishṭhī-putra Sātakarṇi. This will also explain why Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi had a short reign of just seven[63] years. He was preceded on the throne by his brothers Vāsishthīputra Puḷumāvi and Vāsishthīputra Śatakarṇi who had long reigns covering as many as twenty-seven and twenty-nine years[63] respectively and was therefore naturally an old man at the time of his accession as we see on his known silver issues. This also explains Skanda Sātakarṇi's short reign lasting just three years.[65] It is interesting to note in this connection that Skanda Sātakarṇi's portrait on his only known silver coin is that of a fairly old man.[66]

It may perhaps be argued that admission of Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi as a separate king would raise the number of the Andhra-Sātavāhana monarchs to thirty-one which is against the commonly accepted total which is thirty. But it must be remembered that there is no complete agreement among the Purāṇas themselves on this issue. Even those texts which aver that there were thirty kings actually do not give as many names, and the *Matsya*, which says that there were nineteen kings,

actually names thirty. Then again there are some kings like Kumbha Sātakarṇi, Karṇa Sātakarṇi and Śaka Sātakarṇi among later members and Vediśrī, Śaktiśrī and Sātavāhana among earlier ones who are known from their inscriptions and coins but are not named in the Purāṇas and whose admission into the dynasty would raise the total much beyond thirty. It appears therefore that there was no sanctity attached to the number thirty, and this need pose no hindrance in arriving at an otherwise valid conclusion. To sum up, the following points emerge from the above discussion.

I. Śivaśrī Pulomā (or Puḷumāvi) had a separate identity and should not be confused either with Vāsishthīputra Puḷumāvi or with Vāsishthīputra Sātakarṇi who were related probably as uterine brothers. The coins with the legend *Raño Sivasiri Puḷumāvisa* or *Rano Vāsiṭhīputasa Sivasiri Puḷmāvisa* and the Banavasi inscription referring to the sculptured stone (*chhāyā-prastara*) belong to him.

II. Sātakarṇi named in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* and a manuscript of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* was also a historical personage. His name was dropped from the *Matsya* list due to oversight on the part of the copyists. There is nothing to show that he assumed *Śivaśrī* as an honorific and the few lead coins from coastal Andhra said to bear the legend *Raño Vāsiṭhiputasa Sivasiri Sātakaṇisa* actually belong to Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi, the last word of the legend, *Puḷumāvisa*, and not *Sātakanisa* as supposed by Rapson, being off the flan.

III. There are no coins with the legend *Rano Vāsiṭhiputasa Sivasirisa* or *Raño Sivasirisa*.

IV. The correct reading to the relevant portion in *Vishṇu Purāṇa* is *tasy=āpi Sātakarṇis tataś Śivaśrīḥ*, not *Satakarṇi Śivaśrīḥ*.

V. Sātakarṇi preceded Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi on the throne.

VI. There is no need to adopt the reading *Śivasirīr vai Pulomāt tu* found in a solitary *Matsya* manuscript.

VII. The number thirty of the Andhra-Sātavahana kings cannot be regarded as the correct one.

Notes and References

1. F.E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 42, lines 26-27 and 29.
2. This point will be elaborated later.
3. The evidence of the exceptional *Vāyu* manuscript will be dealt with in the sequel.
4. For the constituted list, see Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
5. Its list of Andhra-Sātavāhana chiefs is broken up into three sets. It begins with nos. 11, 18, 19-21; then reverting back it mentions nos. 12-15, 24*a*, 25-30; and long afterwards it refers to 1-4 and 6-10. See *ibid.*, p. 36.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 42, line 28.
7. This line will be discussed later.
8. *Ibid*, p. 37.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
10. *Ibid*, p. 37. But Pargiter was so very obsessed with the correctness of the number 30 that he put the name of Sātakarṇi within brackets calling him 24*a*. See *ibid.*, p. 36, constituted list.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 42, note 1.
12. *BMC, AWK*, etc., p. lxvii column 4. As will be shown in the sequel, he and, following him, others attributed some coins, though erroneously, to Śivarsī Satakarṇi.
13. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 42, note 1. This reading with only a slight modification (*tasy=āpi Śāntakarṇis=tatas=Śivaśriḥ*) is found also in the Gita Press edition of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, p. 360.
14. The *e*Vā reading will be discussed later in this chapter.
15. *BMC, AWK*, etc., p. 29, Pl. V. 115 and 116.
16. *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 16. 1903, p. 117.
17. *JRAS*, 1003. p. 306, While discussing the contents of the Chanda hoard, he makes no reference to the coins with the legend *Sivasiri Puḷumāvisa*. See *BMC, AWK*, etc., introduction, pp. lxxx-lxxxi.
18. *Numismatic Supplement*, No. XLV, Article 318.
19. *JNSI*, ii, p. 88, Pl. VIII. 13 and 14.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 88; *Studies in Indology*, iii, p. 40.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 41; *JNSI*, ii, 88-89.
22. R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalkar (ed.), *A History and Culture of the Indian People*; ii: *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 205.
23. *ASWI*, v, p. 78; *IA*, xii, p. 273.
24. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 205 and note 1.
25. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri (ed.), *A Comprehensive History of India*, ii, p. 321.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 322.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 322, note 2.
28. G. Yazdani (Ed.), *The Early History of the Deccan*, p. 129.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
31. *Ibid*, pp. 85 (*Matsya* list of the Andhra Kings), 128.
32. *Ibid.*, pp. 107, 111.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 794.
34. *JBBRAS*, iii, pp. 79-84.
35. He regarded Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi as a grandson of Vāsishthīputra Puḷumāvi. See his *Sātavāhana Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum*, p. 20.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.* He reads, wrongly of course, *rājño* instead of the usual *raño*.
38. *JNSI*, xxxi, p. 153. For earlier attribution, see *ibid.*, ii, p. 88.
39. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, introduction pp. x-xi. Pargiter's view that the dynastic account as it stands in the *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* is a Sanskritised version of the older Prakrit *ślokas* does not appear plausible.
40. *JNSI*, xxxi, p. 154.
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*, xxxiv, pp. 210-212.
43. *Studies in Indian Epigraphy JESI*, i, pp. 34-39.

44. *Sātavāhana āni Paśchimī Kshatrapa yāṁchā Itihāsa āṇi Koriva Lekha* (Marathi), pp. 31-34; 57-59. *The History and Inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas*, pp. [37-39]; 60-70. Mirashi has reiterated this position totally ignoring the epigraphic and numismatic evidence, See his *Studies in Ancient Indian History*, pp. 40.42.
45. Of Shri Daulal Johri.
46. It has been published in *The Journal of the Academy of Indian Numismatics and Sigillography*, iii (1979-80), pp. 7-9.
47. *Andhra Pradesh Journal of Archaeology*, vol. i, part ii, pp. 105-114.
48. The legend has been restored in full by putting the two coins together.
49. *JNSI*, xiv, pp. 1-3, Pl. I. 1-2; xxxviii (i), pp. 12-16, Pl. I. 4; *Archaeological Studies*, iii, p. 12, Pl. I. 3; *The Journal of the Academy of Indian Numismatics and Sigillography*, iii (1979-80), pp. 7-9, etc.
50. It was employed as such by Āpilaka as will follow from the legend of his only known coin. Two copper coins of Āpilaka have been recently found at Mallar. Blank on reverse, they are exactly similar to the solitary coin known earlier.
51. It is perhaps due to the fact that they were brothers that the Purāṇas do not specify the mutual relationship of these rulers and are content merely by referring to their rule one after the other. It is no doubt true that some manuscripts refer to Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi as Śivaśrī Pulomā's son. But this reading is undoubtedly defective, for in that case while we shall have word 'years' (*samāḥ*), the years themselves will be left unspecified. The correct reading of the relevant line therefore seems to be *Śivaskandaḥ Sātakarṇir bhavishyati samās trayaḥ*, i.e., Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi will rule for three years.
52. *Numismatic Supplement*, No. XLV (*JASB*, 1934), p. 61.
53. *JNSI*, ii, p. 88, Pl. VIII. 13-14.
54. M. Rama Rao, *Sātavāhana Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum*, pp. 54-59; *List of Published Sātavāhana Coins*, pp. 16-17; Ajay Mitra Shastri and R.K. Sethi in *JNSI*, xxxvii, pp. 27 and 30, Pl. V. 8-10.
55. *BMC*, *AWK*, etc., p. 29.
56. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. lxviii.
57. This is clear from a glance at Rapson's catalogue where merely five small strokes within a square bracket are given after Sivasiri.
58. *Sātavāhana Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum*, pp. 54-59; *List of Published Sātavāhana Coins*, pp. 16-17.
59. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 42 and notes 1-4.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 42, line 29.
61. All the coins with the legend *Raño siri-Sātakaṇisa* in the Tarhala hoard seem to belong to him. Many copper and lead coins with similar legend have been attributed to him. His silver coins call him *Vāsishṭhīputra*. An inscription of his reign has been found at Kanheri.
62. I have shown it with reference to a verse in the *Kuṭṭanīmata* of Dāmodaragupta. ,See *Purāṇa*, xii, pp. 160-166. Also see my *India as seen in the Kuṭṭanīmata of Dāmodaragupta*, p. 66 note 3.
63. Only four years according to the reading in the *e*Vā manuscript of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*.
64. Mirashi, by oversight, gives the reading *ekona-viṁsatiṁ* (=9) instead of *ekona-triṁsatiṁ* (=29) given by Pargiter. See *Sātavāhana āṇi Paschmī Kshatrapa yāṁchā Itihāsa āṇi Koriva Lekha* p. 32; elsewhere he gives the correct reading.
65. In view of the presence of a large number of coins issued by him, Mirashi expresses doubts about the correctness of such a short regnal period. See *ibid.*, pp. 33-35. But the number of conis is no definite indication of the length of a reign.
66. See *Archaeological Studies*, iii, Pl. I. 3.

4

CLOSING PHASE OF THE SĀTAVĀHANA POWER AND ALLIED ISSUES

It is commonly believed that the Sātavāhanas ceased to rule about AD 225. However, the bearing of the Tarhala hoard, which happens to be one of the fairly well-documented and largest hoards of Sātavāhana coins and has been known for well over four decades, on this problem has not been adequately appreciated so far. The hoard contains coins of all the Andhra-Sātavāhana rulers beginning with Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi according to some) to the very last king, (Puḷumāvi IV) mentioned in some of the Purāṇas. This shows that the family ruled over the Vidarbha region uninterruptedly during this period. In addition, the hoard also contains coins of three other rulers *viz.*, Kumbha Sātakarṇi, Karṇa Sātakarṇi and Śaka Sātakarṇi, who, as indicated by the second component of their names, undoubtedly belonged to the Andhra-Sātavāhana dynasty but find no mention in the Purāṇas. They cannot be accommodated during the period covered by the rule of the Sātavāhanas upto the close of the imperial line as indicated by the presence of the coins of all the members of the dynasty from the time of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi or Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi. Consequently we are left with no option but to date their reigns after the last monarch mentioned in the Purāṇas. It would thus follow that the Sātavāhana rule continued in Vidarbha for a few decades after it had come to an end in other areas earlier included in the Sātavāhana empire, say up to *c.* 285 or about the close of the third century AD. This would also show the inadequacy of the notion that the Sātavāhanas are called Andhra or Andhra-jātīya in the Purāṇas because at or just prior to the time of the compilation of their historical sections the Sātavāhana rule was confined to the Andhra region.

It would also appear that the Vākāṭakas, who succeeded the Sātavāhanas in Vidarbha, could not have begun their rule in this region much before the close of the third century AD, a fact reinforced by the description of the first two members of the Vākāṭaka dynasty as Vindhyaka in the Purāṇas. Further, there is no necessity to place the Muṇḍa-putrachiefs brought to light by the Malhara plates of Ādityarāja in the third century AD against the internal evidence of the record itself just in order to fill up the suspposed, but really non-existing, gap between the Sātavāhanas and the Vākāṭakas.

The Sātavāhanas, who constituted the first imperial power of South India, exercised sway over a major part of the Deccan and Central India from about the mid-first century B.C. to *circa* A.D. 225. Much of their history is, however, still shrouded in obscurity and several problems appertaining them continue to baffle historians for want of necessary information. The dynastic lists found in some of the Purāṇas and the numerous epigraphs bequeathed by some of the members of the dynasty form the principal source of our information about their history. They also minted coins, specially in base metals like lead and copper and the alloy popularly called potin,[1] in a very large number, and in quite a few cases these specie have also proved to be quite an important source for the reconstruction of their chequered history. Our primary object here is to throw some light on the last phase of the Sātavāhana rule and a few connected problems. Of particular interest in this connection are the coins of three of the Sātavāhana monarchs who are not referred to either in literature of epigraphic records and are known only from the coins issued by them. These are Kumbha Sātakarṇi Karṇa Sātkarṇi and Śaka Sātakarṇi. The coins of these rulers are found so far only in the Tarhāḷā (Akola District, Maharashtra) hoard which contained fifty-six coins of Kumbha Sātakarṇi, seven of Karṇa Sātakarṇi and only four of Śaka Sātakarṇi. Like other coins included in the hoard, these are also potin, an alloy popularly employed for minting in the Vidarbha region in those days, and round in shape. They are of the usual Elephant-Ujjain Symbol type which is also true of the coins of all the other rulers represented in the hoard. On the obverse of the issues of Kumbha Sātakarṇi and Śaka Sātakarṇi we have the figure of an elephant walking to right with upraised trunk, while on the issues of Karṇa Sātakarṇi the animal is represented facing left. The legend on the obverse is in Brāhmi script and Prakrit language as on the other coins of the Sātavāhanas. It gives us the Prakrit form of the name of the issuing chief (Kubha for Kumbha, Kaṇa for Karṇa and Saka for Śaka; Sātakaṇi for Sātakarṇi is common to all) preceded by the honorific *siri* (Sankrit *sri*) and the regal title *rājan* (*rano*) in genitive singular. As on the remaining coins of the hoard, metronymics are dropped from the legends on these issues also.[2] The reverse bears the well-known Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each orb.[3]

Since these rulers are not mentioned in literary sources and their epigraphs if any left by them, have yet to be recovered, it is difficult to deternmine the exact period of the rule of the above-mentioned chiefs. V.V. Mirashi, who published the hoard, refrained from expressing any definite opinion on this question. However, depending on the Purānic list of the Andhra-Sātavāhana kings, he seems to be in favour of placing them before the last ruler of the dynasty mentioned in the Purāṇas, *viz* Puḷumāvi IV.[4] While Kumbha Sātakarṇi and Śaka Sātakaṇi cannot be equated with any of the Andhra-Sātavāhana chiefs named in the Purāṇas, as regards Karṇa Sātakarṇi, we find some names in the Purāṇas which contain the word *karṇa* as one of their components *e.g.* Svatikana Arishṭakarṇa, Sundara Śāntikarṇa, Chakora

Svātikarṇa and Chaṇḍaśrī Śāntikarṇa.[5] Mirashi doubtfully suggests the attribution of the coins bearing the name Kaṇa Sātkaṇi to Chaṇḍaśrī if he really bore the name Śāntikarṇa.[6] However, Śāntikarṇa can be equated only with the name Śatakaṇi of inscriptions and coins, while the issuer of these coins bore the name Kaṇa (Karṇa) in addition to Śātakarṇi. In view of this fact it is not possible to identify Karṇa Sātakarṇi of our coins with Chaṇḍaśrī Śāntikarṇa or, for that matter, with any other king mentioned above whose name had Karṇa as one of its component parts.

As regards the date, besides placing these three rulers prior to the last Andhra-Sātavāhana king according to the Purāṇas, Mirashi observes about Karṇa Sātakarṇi that he "flourished long after Gautamīputra, at least not earlier than the second century A.D.[7] But we find it difficult to accept this placement of these rulers before Puḷumāvi IV on the ground that he is the last king of the dynasty named in the Purāṇic list. As the numismatic or epigraphic records of these chiefs have not been found outside Vidarbha and as these rulers are not mentioned in the Purāṇas, the conclusion that these were local rulers of the dynasty ruling over only the Vidarbha (and adjoining) region is more than obvious. In fact, their local character provides an explanation for their non-mention in the Purāṇas. As for the chronological position of these monarchs also, the internal evidence of the hoard affords an important clue. The hoard, it must be borne in mind, contains coins of practically all the Sātavāhana chiefs from Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (or, according to another view, Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi) to Puḷahāmavi[8] or Puḷumāvi IV. It is therefore clear that these three rulers could have no place during the period covered by the unbroken rule of these chiefs. And, as pointed out above, the palaeographic considerations do not allow us to place the three chiefs in question before the time of the great Gautamīputra. Consequently, there is no alternative but to date the reigns of these three Sātakarṇis after Puḷumāvi IV, *i.e.*, after the Sātavāhana rule had come to an end in other parts of the empire. In other words, the Sātavāhana rule continued in Vidarbha for some time after the end of dynasty in other areas. That these chiefs belonged to the Sātavāhana dynasty need not be doubted as the name Sātakarṇi which is common to all the three is an unimpeachable evidence of their dynastic affiliation.

The above conclusions make it imperative to reconsider some of the historical problems connected with the Sātavāhanas and the Vidarbha region which once formed an integral part of their dominions. As is well known, the Purāṇas refer to the Sātavāhanas as Andhra or Andhra-jātīya which name is conspicuous by its absence in their own records. Historians of the Sātavāhanas therefore have found it difficult to reconcile these apparently conflicting evidences and tried to explain them away in their own way. The theory most popularly held by scholars now is that the Sātavānanas are designated as Andhra or Andhra-jātīya in the dynastic

accounts of the Purāṇas because during the closing phase of the history of the dynasty its rule was confined to the Andhra region. And as this period was close to that of the compilation of the historical texts of the Purāṇas, the compilers of these texts laboured under the mistaken impression that the Sātavāhanas belonged to Andhra and accordingly gave them this designation, though originally the Sātavāhanas had nothing to do with Andhra. However, if the Purāṇa writers were guided by the consideration of the regions under the sway of the dynasty towards its end while designating it, they would have more appropriately styled it Vaidarbha instead of Andhra or Andhra-jātīya, for, as we have shown above, Vidarbha was not only included in the Sātavāhana empire up to the very end of the imperial power but continued to be ruled by the dynasty for three generations after all of their remaining territorial possessions had slipped away from their control. Therefore the popular view about the *raison d'etre* of the Purāṇic appellation of the Sātavāhana dynasty is, to say the least, most unconvincing. Moreover, this theory was propounded at a time when the evidence for the association of the early Sātavāhanas with Andhra was lacking, and therefore it was naturally surmised that the Sātavāhanas had absolutely no connection with Andhra during the earlier period of their rule and that it was annexed to their empire in later times. But of late important numismatic evidence indicating the presense of the early Sātavāhanas in the region has come to light. Coins of Simuka[9] Sātavāhana, the first member of the family according to the Purāṇas, have been reported in a fairly good number from Kotaliṅgāla in the Karimnagar District of the Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh.[10] Coins of King Sātavāhana have also been found at the same place in course of surface explorations.[11] It may be pointed out in this connection that a coin of King Sātavāhana was earlier reported from Kondapur in the Medak District of the same State.[12] Recent excavations at Sātānikoṭa (corrupt form of Sātavāhana-koṭṭa) in the Kurnool District of Andhra Pradesh by the Excavations Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India have brought to light a coin of *Kumāra* Sāta who has been identified with King Sāti of some Central Indian coins[13] and Sati-sirimata of the larger Naneghat inscription generally attributed to queen Nāganikā[14] and prince Śaktikumāra of Pratishṭhāna (modern Paithan, Aurangabad District) referred to in the late Jaina traditions.[15] The coin has been found in a layer that has also yielded rouletted ware and other antiquities assignable to *circa* first century B.C.-A.D. All this evidence leaves no doubt whatsoever about the association of the early Sātavāhanas with the Telangana and Kurnool regions of Andhra Pradesh. Indeed, it is very important to remember in the present context that the coins of the first Andhra Sātavāhana chief Simuka have been found so far only in the Karimagar area of Andhra Pradesh. The early formation of names containing the dynastic name in a somewhat modified from (Sātavahanihāra[16] and Sātāhani-raṭṭha[17]) for certain administrative units in the Kurnool District in inscriptions and the use till now of the place-name Sātāni-koṭṭa

(corrupt form of Sātavāhana-koṭṭa = a Sātavāhana fort) in the same district also deserves consideration in the present context. In view of these and other facts there is no room for doubt that the Anthra-Sātavāhanas were present in the modern Telugu-speaking areas from very beginning of the dynastic history, and it was an accurate knowledge of this fact, and no misconception of the type alleged, that made the Purāṇic chroniclers style the Sātavāhanas Andhra or Andhra-jātīya.

Another problem that calls for review is the date of the recently discovered Malhara plates of Ādityarāja who belonged to the Muṇḍa-putra dynasty. Through this charter he granted a few villages in favour of certain Brāhmaṇas in the second year of his reign. The inscription refers to Ādityarāja's ancestors as follows: (1) Soma, (2) his son Vardhana, (3) the latter's son Muṇḍa after whom the family came to be designated Muṇḍa-putra, (4) Muṇḍa's son Rāshṭra-Mahārāja, and (5) Rāshtra-mahārāja's son Rajakula maharaja. The first three members of the family were great Vedic Scholars and devoted to the performance of Vedic sacrifices, whereas the last two personages, as vouched for by their names, assumed regal power. They were Brāhmaṇas of the Bhāradvāja-*gotra* and Bhāgavatas by religion and naturally took great pride in the performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice by one of the members of the dynasty, Ādityarāja is the last known member of the family and there is no knowledge as to what happened to the dynasty after him. From the findspot of the only known record of the family and the localities named therein it may be reasonably concluded that the family ruled over the Vidarbha region.[18] If his record and the dynasty brought to light by it are to be placed in a proper historical perspective, ascertainment of its date is of utmost significance. As we have demonstrated elsewhere,[19] palaeographic considerations, language, style, terminology, list of officers mentioned in it and certain other facts clearly indicate that it cannot be placed prior to the sixth century A.D. The chiefs mentioned in it must have flourished either before A.D. 573 when a certain Svāmirāja is known from his Nagardhan plates to have been ruling over Vidarbha[20] or after him and prior to the annexation of this area by Pulakeśin II, the Chālukya emperor, sometime before A.D. 634.[21] However, V.V. Mirashi, who, too, dated one of the plates of the charter in the post-Vākāṭaka period, is now inclined to place the rulers brought to light by this record in the third century A.D., immediately after the close of the Sātavāhana rule. In conformity with the generally accepted opinion he avers that the Sātavāhana rule came to an end in *circa* A.D. 230 after which the Muṇḍaputra chiefs ruled for about forty years, *viz.*, from *circa* 230 to *circa* A.D. 270, when Ādityarāja, the last known member of the family was overthrown by the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena I.[22] Like other scholars, Mirashi also held earlier that the rule of Pravarasena I was preceded by that of his father Vindhyaśakti I, regarded as the first Vākāṭaka king, whose reign he proposed to date in *circa* 250-*circa* A.D. 270.[23] But now in order to accommodate the Muṇḍa-putra rule in the pre-Vākāṭaka period he argues that Vindhyaśakti I did not rule at all and finds support

for this contention in the Purāṇas which refer to Pravīra (Pravarasena I), son of Vindhyaśakti, and not to Vindhyaśakti himself, as a king.[24] This argument provides him with the much sought for gap of exactly four decades between the end of the Sātāvāhanā power and the commencement of the Vākāṭaka rule, and the rule of the Muṇḍa-putras is sought to be accommodated during this short interval. But this is highly improbable in the light of the numismatic evidence first placed in a proper historical perspective in these pages. In addition to the strong arguments against dating the Malhara plates prior to the sixth century A.D. adduced by us elsewhere,[25] the date of Kumbha Sātakarṇi, Karṇa Sātakarṇi and Śaka Sātākarṇi discussed above leaves no room for doubt that the Sātavāhana rule continued in Vidarbha or a major part thereof for some time even after the dynastic power had come to an end in other regions, and as many as three, if not more, members of the dynasty are known to have exercised sway over this area during the gap between the close of the Sātavāhana rule in other areas and the beginning of the Vākāṭaka rule. It would follow from this that was there no political vacuum in Vidarbha in the third century A.D. when the Muṇḍa-putra rule could be accommodated. We are thus left with no alternative but to date the Muṇḍa-putras and their only known epigraph, *i.e.*, the Malhara plates of Ādityarāja, in the post-Vākāṭaka, period which alone will explain all the known historical facts.

It will follow from the foregoing discussion that the internal evidence of the Tarhāḷā (as well as Brahmapuri or Chanda) hoard has thrown welcome light on the history of the Sātāvāhanas and proved to be of great help in arriving at the correct date for the Muṇḍā-putra rule.

Notes and References

1. Silver issues of a few of the Sātavāhana rulers are also known. But their number is very small, say, not more than one hundred.
2. Metronymics are conspicuous by their absence on the coins of the only other hoard of Sātavāhana coins reported from the Vidarbha region, *viz.*, Chanda or Brahmapuri Hoard. See *JPASB*, 1893, pp. 116-117; *JRAS*, 1903 pp. 303ff *CCIM*, i, pp. 209; *BMC*, *AWK*, pp. lxxx-lxxxi.
3. *JNSI*, ii, 83ff. Coins of one of these rulers, *i.e.*, Karna Sātakarni, appear to have been included in the Brahmapuri hoard also.
4. See *Studies in Indology*, iii, p. 37, where these rulers are listed after Yajña Sātakarṇi and Pulahāmavi who is proposed to be identified with Puḷumāvi IV, and pp. 43-45 where their coins are described in this very order.
5. *BMC*, *AWK*, pp. lxvi-lxvii, (here is collated the Purāṇic list of the Andhra-Sātavāhana kings).
6. *Studies in Indology*, iii, p. 44.
7. *Ibid.*
8. The name is spelt in this manner in the legend on coins.

9. On these coins the first part of the name is spelt as Chhimuka which is comparatively close to one of the Purāṇic variants, Chhismaka, than other variants. In southern Prakrits sibilants are often replaced by *ch* or *chh*.
10. *ND*, ii (i), pp. 10ff.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.
12. V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, iii, pp. 5-6.
13. For coins of Sāti, see *Indore University Research Journal*, iv, pp. 6ff.
14. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, i, p. 194, text-line 4. Recently doubts have been expressed by P.L. Gupta about the ascription of this record to the Sātavāhanas. For details, see *Studies in Indian Epigraphy* (*JESI*), ii, pp. 59ff,
15. He is mentioned in the *Vividha-tirtha-kalpa*, story 34, p. 64. *Vide* also H.C. Raychaudhari, *Political History of Ancient India*, 6th ed., p. 417, n. 4; D.C. Sircar. *The Age of Imperial Unity* (Ed. R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalkar), p. 199; *A Comprehensive History of India*, ii, (Ed. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri), p. 303.
16. For Sanskrit Sātavāhanāhāra. See *EI*, xiv, pp. 143ff., text-line 2.
17. Hirahadagalli plates of Pallava Sivaskandavarman, text-line 27, D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, i, p. 463.
18. See *Vidarbha Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala Vārshika*, 1974, pp. 139-44; 1975, pp. 1ff.
19. *JESI*, iv, pp. 30-41; vii, pp. 69-75.
20. V.V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*, *CII*, iv, pp. 611ff.
21. In case three Mahārāshṭras said to have been conquered by Pulakeśin II in his Aihole inscription included Vidarbha, the Chālukya annexation may have taken place sometime before A.D. 634, the date of the Aihole inscription.
22. *JFSI*, v, pp. 1-9.
23. V.V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas*, *CII*, v. Introduction, p. 6.
24. *JESI*, v, p. 3. This explanation is now rendered untenable by the discovery of the Bidar plates of Devasena and the Thāḷner plates of Harisheṇa both of which begin with reference to Vindhya-Śakti, father of Pravarasena I, as the first *Dharmāmahārāja* of the Vākāṭakas. See *infra*, ch. V.
25. For a detailed examination of the question of the date of the Malhara plates, see our papers in *ibid.*, iv, pp. 30-41; vii, pp. 69-75.

5

THE VĀKĀṬAKAS
FRESH EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

The Vākāṭakas are probably the greatest beneficiaries of the epigraphical researeh during the last few years which have witnessed the discovery of a large number of their inscriptions engraved on both copper-plates and stone-slabs. More than one third of the Vākāṭaka epigraphy as known at the time of the publication of the *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas* (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. V) by the late V.V. Mirashi in 1963 has been brought to light during this short period. These records have enhanced our knowledge about some important aspects of the history of the dynasty, and we now know a lot more than was known earlier. To illustrate only a few points, they have given us the only date for Rudrasena II, narrowed the gap in the shifting of the capital of the main branch from Nandi Vardhana to Aravarapura, helped us in locating Padmapura in the Nagpur-Wardha region instead of in the Bhandara District as believed hitherto, brought us nearer the solution of the riddle concerning the succession after Rudrasena II, thrown a fresh light on the reigns of Narendrasena and his son and successor Pṛithivīsheṇa II, given us the only known Śaka date for Devasena which now forms the sheet anchor of the chronology of the Vatsagulma branch and supplied the hitherto unknown name of Devasena's father, viz. Sarvasena II, and names of two of the officers of Harishena, the last known member of the Vatsagulma branch of the dynasty. We have, for the first time, the seals attached to the copper-plate grants issued by Prabhāvatīguptā during the reign of her third son Pravarasena II and those of Pṛithivīsheṇa II, the last known member of the main branch of the family. In addition to these facts mainly relating to political history we also get a good deal of information on the cultural history of the period. In this Chapter, not only are the contents of these inscriptions summarised, but attempt has been made to discuss and throw light on some controversial problems relating to the Vākāṭaka history.

The period of about a couple of decades that have elapsed since the publication of V.V. Mirashi's corpus of the inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas[1] has been very prolific from the view point of Vākāṭaka epigrāphy, and we shall not be far wide of the mark if we aver that a little over one-third of the Vākāṭaka epigraphs as known at the time of the publication of this work have been discovered during this

short interval.[2] The present author has been intimately connected with the discovery and publication of a majority of these inscriptions. Most of these records have either not been published so far or reported in rather obscure publications not easily accessible to historians. Their publication in standard professional journals is bound to take quite a few years. However, since they are of inestimable value for the history of the Vākāṭakas, students of early Indian history can ill afford to ignore the evidence furnished by them. We propose, therefore, to discuss their contents and historical bearing in brief in these pages. It is hoped that this account will serve as a summary supplement[3] to Mirashi's above-mentioned work.

Barring a solitary exception,[4] all these inscriptions are copper-plate characters. Two of these epigraphs, one lithic and the other a copper-plate grant, belong to the Vatsagulma (Washim) branch of the Vākāṭakas, while the rest, all copper-plate inscriptions, are claimed by the Nandivardhana branch. We may deal with these inscriptions chronologically and may first take up those belonging to the Nandivardhana branch.[5]

NANDIVARDHANA BRANCH

Māṇḍhaḷ plates of Rudrasena II, Year 5

Incised on a set of four plates, this record was recently found while ploughing a field at Māṇḍhaḷ, a village about seventy-five kms. from Nagpur in the Umred Tahsil of the Nagpur District. It aims registering that the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena II granted four villages, to wit, Selludraha; Achchhabhallikā, Saragrāmakā, and Aragrāmakā situated to the west of Kurudumbhaka, to the north of the two villages named Śaṅkhikā,[6] to the east of Bābbaikā, and to the south of Phukudumbhaka,[7] and included in the eastern part of the administrative division of Padmapura,[8] barring the land earlier granted in favour of a couple of monasteries of the Sātvata school originally belonging to Vatsagulma[9] (modern Wasim, Akola District). The granted villages appear to have been turned into an *agrahāra* (Brāhmaṇa settlement) which was placed under the Brāhmaṇas belonging to different *gotras* and *charaṇas* and engaged in study, and the grant carried with it the usual privileges and exemptions applicable to the *agrahāra* villages.[10] The grant is said to have been made at the message or command (*sandeśa*) of god Vishṇu called Mondasvāmin and described as carrying a conch-shell, a wheel and a sword[11] and resting in the *yoganidrā* on the body of the snake-king called Ananta[12] in the ocean. The order about the grant is stated to have been issued by the king himself.[13] The record is dated the seventh day of the sixth fortnight of the rainy season during the fifth year, evidently of the reign of Rudrasena II, the donor of the charter, and was written by *Senāpati* Vibhīshaṇa. The inscription is of great value for more than one reason. Till now the fragmentary Deotek stone inscription of Rudrasena[14] was regarded as the earliest Vākāṭaka epigraph. But

besides being fragmentary, it does not afford definite evidence which could enable us to attribute it indubitably to Rudrasena I or II, though it is generally attributed to the former. Viewed from this viewpoint, this is the earliest definitely attributable inscription of the Nandivardhana branch of the Vākāṭakas, and certainly the earliest known copper-plate charter of this branch of the dynasty. Secondly, as no dated record of Rudrasena II was known so far, there was no means of ascertaining the length of his reign which was conjecturally fixed variously by historians. But the present record, which was issued in the fifth year of his reign, shows that he ruled for at least five years. However, we still have no means to ascertain as to how long he continued to rule after the date of this record. Thirdly, the employment of the season date instead of the usual month date, which is so far met with only in a few Vākāṭaka records, is of considerable interest.[15] Fourthly, *Senāpti* Vibhīshaṇa has come to be known from this record for the first time, Fifthly, this inscription gives us an idea of the evolution of the draft of the official charters of the Nandivardhana branch of the dynasty up to the time of Rudrasena II.[16]

The present charter is of considerable interest for the religious history as well. That it is a Vaishṇavite record will be clear from its contents. The custom of naming a divine image or shrine after a personal or place name was quite popular in ancient India and continues to be so even now, and while names ending in Īśa. Īśvara and Śiva were popular among the Śaivas, the Vaishṇavas favoured *svāmin*-ending names. And since Monda does not look like a personal name, the god Mondasvāmin appears to have been named after the place where the temple was situated. It is noteworthy in this connection that there still exist villages named Maudā and Dongar Maudā in the vicinity of Māṇḍaḷ, the provenance of the plates. It would, thus, follow that the temple of Mondasvāmin was situated in this area. Let us hope that future explorations will throw more light on this problem. It is also pertinent to note in this context that the excavations at Māṇḍhaḷ carried out under the present author's direction have thrown up some beautiful early Vākāṭaka Vaishṇava images.[17] We may, therefore, conclude that the region round Māṇḍhal was an important centre of Vaishṇavism during the early Vākāṭaka period. Rudrasena II alone among the early Vākāṭaka rulers was a devout votary of Vaishṇavaism, and it is stated in our record as well as the later official charters of the family that his authority was established by the wheel-bearing god, *i.e.*, Vishṇu.[18] It is very likely, therefore, that he played a pivotal role in popularising the Bhāgavata religion in this region.

The description of Śeshaśāyī Vishṇu under the name Mondasvāmin is also of great iconographic interest. This is, to our knowledge, the oldest datable description of this form, and it will be in the fitness of things to find its sculptural parallels answering the description in full. The well-known Bhitargaon and Deogarh Anantaśayana panels, which are the earliest known so far, are somewhat later than our inscription and do not tally with our account in so far as the

āyudhas held in his hands are concerned.[19] The South Indian Śeshaśayana or Anantaśayana panels, popularly known as Raṇganātha or Raṅgasvāmin, are of a considerably later period.

In ancient India a great controversy raged regarding the Vedic or non-Vedic character of the Sātvatas. Some of the Vaiṣṇava Āgamas adduce arguments to prove their Vedic affiliation. The reference to the Sātvata *charaṇa* seems to indicate that their Vedicism had become established, at least among the Pāñcharātras, by the Vākāṭaka period. As the two monasteries of the Sātavatas mentioned in our record were situated in the Māṇḍhaḷ region, this area was undoubtedly an important centre of their activities. And since these Sātvatas originally hailed from Vatasgulma or Wasim, the Vatsagulma region also must have been an important centre of the school.

Before we conclude, reference may be made to the *pūrva-mārga* of Padmapura in which the donated villages were included. That the word *mārga* when joined to a place-name indicates an administrative unit is shown by the Mahurjhari plates of Pṛithivīsheṇa II which record the grant of the village Jamalakheṭaka situated in the Jamalakheṭakamārga.[20] As will be seen in the sequel, the *apara-mārga* of Padmapura is mentioned in the Māsod grant of the nineteenth year of Pravarasena II.[21] It may, therefore, be concluded that the administrative unit named after Padmapura was divided into two parts—eastern (*pūrva*) and western (*apara*). Padmapura after which the district was named cannot be identified satisfactorily. However, since Matsyadraha or Māsod in Katal Tahsil of the Nagpur District which was donated by Māsod grant is said to have been situated in the Padmapura-apara-mārga, the Katal region may be taken to have been included in this *mārga*, though we are unable to determine its extent. The Padmapura-pūrva-mārga was evidently situated to the east of the Māsod area, though how far east we cannot say. In view of these facts, Padmapura, the headquarters of the unit christened after it, should be looked for somewhere in the Nagpur-Wardha region.[22]

Māṇḍhaḷ plates of Pravarasena II, Year 17

While the aforementioned charter was found accidentally while ploughing a field at Māṇḍhaḷ, archaeological excavations at the same site yielded, *inter alia*, three sets of Vākāṭaka copper-plate inscriptions intact with their rings and seals preserved in an earthen pot covered with a lid. One of these charters belongs to Pravarasena II, and the rest to his grandson Pṛithivīsheṇa II.[23]

The grant of Pravarasena II, which is incised on a set of five plates, was, like a majority of his records, issued from Pravarapura, generally identified with modern Paunar in the Wardha District. It records his donation of the village Mayasagrāma included in the Aparapaṭṭa of Beṇṇāṭaṭa in favour of *Upādhyāya*

āyudhas held in his hands are concerned.[19] The South Indian Śeshaśayana or Anantaśayana panels, popularly known as Raṇganātha or Raṅgasvāmin, are of a considerably later period.

In ancient India a great controversy raged regarding the Vedic or non-Vedic character of the Sātvatas. Some of the Vaiṣṇava Āgamas adduce arguments to prove their Vedic affiliation. The reference to the Sātvata *charaṇa* seems to indicate that their Vedicism had become established, at least among the Pāñcharātras, by the Vākāṭaka period. As the two monasteries of the Sātavatas mentioned in our record were situated in the Māṇḍhaḷ region, this area was undoubtedly an important centre of their activities. And since these Sātvatas originally hailed from Vatasgulma or Wasim, the Vatsagulma region also must have been an important centre of the school.

Before we conclude, reference may be made to the *pūrva-mārga* of Padmapura in which the donated villages were included. That the word *mārga* when joined to a place-name indicates an administrative unit is shown by the Mahurjhari plates of Pṛithivīsheṇa II which record the grant of the village Jamalakheṭaka situated in the Jamalakheṭakamārga.[20] As will be seen in the sequel, the *apara-mārga* of Padmapura is mentioned in the Māsod grant of the nineteenth year of Pravarasena II.[21] It may, therefore, be concluded that the administrative unit named after Padmapura was divided into two parts—eastern (*pūrva*) and western (*apara*). Padmapura after which the district was named cannot be identified satisfactorily. However, since Matsyadraha or Māsod in Katal Tahsil of the Nagpur District which was donated by Māsod grant is said to have been situated in the Padmapura-apara-mārga, the Katal region may be taken to have been included in this *mārga*, though we are unable to determine its extent. The Padmapura-pūrva-mārga was evidently situated to the east of the Māsod area, though how far east we cannot say. In view of these facts, Padmapura, the headquarters of the unit christened after it, should be looked for somewhere in the Nagpur-Wardha region.[22]

Māṇḍhaḷ plates of Pravarasena II, Year 17

While the aforementioned charter was found accidentally while ploughing a field at Māṇḍhaḷ, archaeological excavations at the same site yielded, *inter alia*, three sets of Vākāṭaka copper-plate inscriptions intact with their rings and seals preserved in an earthen pot covered with a lid. One of these charters belongs to Pravarasena II, and the rest to his grandson Pṛithivīsheṇa II.[23]

The grant of Pravarasena II, which is incised on a set of five plates, was, like a majority of his records, issued from Pravarapura, generally identified with modern Paunar in the Wardha District. It records his donation of the village Mayasagrāma included in the Aparapaṭṭa of Beṇṇāṭaṭa in favour of *Upādhyāya*

Mātṛisvāmin, son of a certain *Upādhyāya* who is left unnamed and simpiy described as *apratigrāhaka* or non-acceptor of gifts,[24] who was a resident of Beṇṇāṭaṭa and belonged to the Taittirīya *śākhā* of the Black *Yajurveda* and the Kautsa *gotra*. The grant is stated to have been made on an evening during the month of Kārttika in the sixteenth year, and one-third of the religious merit accruing from the donation was to go to Ājñākabhaṭṭārikā, mother of a certain Narindarāja (Narendrarāja). The order in respect of the grant was given by the king himself. The gift was accompanied by the usual privileges and exemptions. The charter was written when Chitravarman was *senāpati* on the tenth day of the dark fortnight of the month of Kārtika in the seventeenth year, apparently of the grantor's reign.

The four-line seal inscription is the same as that found on other seals of Praverasena II and is singularly bereft of historical interest.

It will be seen that the record contains two dates, one when the grant was made and the other when the charter was written and issued. Though the details of the first date are lacking, the two dates are separated from one another by about a year, and the charter was issued a year after the donation was made. But there is nothing to be surprised about it as this phenomenon is noticed in several other cases also.

These dates throw welcome light on the history of the Vākāṭakas. The Jamb plates of the second year[25] and both the Belora grants of the eleventh year of Pravarasena II's reign[26] were given from Nandivardhana, whereas the Chammak charter of the eighteenth year of his reign was issued from Pravarapura.[27] It is, therefore, believed that Pravarasena II shifted his capital from Nandivardhana to Pravarapura sometime between the eleventh and eighteenth years of his regin. But the present record, which was issued from Pravarapura and registers a grant made in the sixteenth year, shows that the capital of what is generally designated as the main branch of the Vākāṭakas was shifted from Nandivardhana to Pravarapura sometime in or prior to the sixteenth year of Pravarasena II's reign.

Neither Narendrarāja nor his mother Ājñakabhaṭṭārikā, who is stated to have shared one-third of the merit accruing from the grant, is known from any other source. That they had some pretensions to royalty is indicated by the words *rāja* and *bhaṭṭārikā* respectively suffixed to their names. In case this Narindarāja is identified with Narendrasena, son and successor of Pravarasena II, the inscription would give us the name of Pravarasena II's chief queen and Narendrasena's mother. However, there can be no certainty about it as the relegation of just one-third of the merit to Narindarāja's mother Ājñākabhaṭṭārika and the casual manner in which the mother and the son are mentioned seem to negate this conjecture. It may, therefore, be concluded that one of them was the person at whose request the grant was made,[28] though their identity does not admit of determination at present.

The administrative division of Beṇṇātaṭa, in the Aparapaṭṭa or western part of which the donated village was situated, is evidently the same as Beṇṇākaṭa referred to in the Tiroḍī grant of Pravarasena II,[29] the employment of the word *taṭa* instead of *kaṭa* being interesting linguistically. Beṇṇātaṭa (or Beṇṇākaṭa) as indicated by the name, apparently denoted the area on the banks of the river Veṇā or Wainganga, and the mention of its Aparapaṭṭa in this as well as the Tiroḍī charter wound seem to show that this district was divided at least into two parts, viz., Eastern (Pūrva) and Western (Apara), the river Wainganga probably forming the dividing line. But we know from other records to be noticed later in this chapter that the other division was known as Uttarapaṭṭa following the course of the Wainganga. The donated village Mayasagrāma cannot be identified definitely, but the possibility of its identity with Māṇḍhal, the findspot of the inscription in question, cannot be ruled out.

Māsod plates of Pravarasena II, Year 19

The set of five plates bearing this record was found some four decades ago while ploughing a field at the village of Māsod under Mauja Kāmaṭhī and Koṇḍhālī Police Station in the Katol Taluka of the Nagpur District and was acquired for the Central Museum, Nagpur, some eight years earlier (1976). The seal was found missing.

The charter records the donation, by Pravarasena II, of a piece of land to the north-west[30] of the village Matsakadraha in the low-lying area (*gartta-sabhā*) of the river Rājatintiṇika situated in the *apara-mārga* of Padmapura in favour of a group of nineteen Brāhmaṇas named with their respective *gotras*. The donated land is mentioned as 'three hundred lands' (*bhūmi-śata-traya*) measured by the royal measurement (*rāja-mānika-mānena*).[31] Although the exact unit of measurement has been omitted by oversight, the intended unit appears to have been *nivartana* which is referred to in a few other Vākāṭaka records as well. Thus, in all three hundred *nivartanas* of land was given away. The grant was made at the request of the chief queen (*bhāryā-mahādevī*) who is however, left unnamed. The granted land was split up into twenty-five house-sites (*vāṭaka*)[32] which were variously given to a certain Mahāpurusha, curiously styled *apratigrāhin* (non-acceptor of donations) and nineteen other Brāhmaṇas bearing *āryya*-ending names[33] and belonging to the Kauṇḍinya (4), Bhāradvāja (4), Pārāśara (2), Kāśyapa (3), Kauśika (3), Vatsa (1) and Gautama (2) *gotras*. Each plot appears to have consisted of twelve *nivartanas* and was, thus, of a very small size. The order in respect of the grant was given by the king himself and was executed when Kātyāyana occupied the office of *Senāpati*. The date is specified in accordance with the older system of naming the season instead of the month, and the record was issued on the fifth day of the second fortnight of the rainy season during the nineteenth year, apparently of

Pravarasena II's reign. This is one of the few season dates of the reign of Pravarasena II, all the rest being specified in terms of months.[34]

We know of another record issued in the ninteenth regnal year of Pravarasena II, viz., Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, which were given on the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārttika.[35] Our plates, therefore, preceded this charter by a few months.

We find mention of *Senāpati* Kātyāyana in the Paṭṭaṇ plates of the twenty-seventh year of Pravarasena II also.[36] This fact coupled with a few other similar references[37] would seem to indicate that there were different *senāpatis* appointed for the different regions of the kingdom. But more evidence would be required before we could arrive at any definite conclusion in this regard.

Of the localities specified in our record, Matsakadraha is evidently identical with Māsod, the findspot of the plates. The *apara-mārga* of Padmapura, in which the granted village was situated, apparently comprised the Kāṭol region of the Nagpur District and the Arwi Tahsil of the Wardha District, while its *pūrva-mārga* covered the region to its east in the Nagpur and Wardha tahsils of the districts of the same names, though it is difficult, in the present state of inadequate knowledge, to be more precise regarding the area comprised in the *mārga* named after Padmapura. The river Rājatintiṇika, which may now be represented by one of the small streams in the vicinity of Māsod, cannot be definitely identified.[38]

Miregaon Charter of the reign of Pravarasena II, Year 20

A grant of Prabhāvatīguptā engraved on a set of five plates is reported to have been found together with the ring and the seal a few years ago at Miregaon in the Sākolī Tahsil of the Bhandara district. The inscription is similar in all respects to Prabhāvatīguptā's Riddhapur plates except technical details like the names of the donees and the donated village, etc. It was issued in the twentieth year of Pravarasena II's reign, viz., a year after the Riddhapur grant. The seal of the Riddhapur plates was lost, but since both the charters were issued by Prabhāvatīguptā and are removed from one another just by one year, we may reasonably assume that the seal of the Riddhapur charter also bore the same inscription as that attached to the present plates. It.runs as follows :

Vikkrāntayor=jananyās=tu
Vākāṭaka-narendrayoḥ
Śrī-Prabhāvati (tī) guptāyāḥ
Śāsanam ripu-śāsanam.

This stanza, couched in the *Anushṭubh* metre, describes Prabhāvatīguptā as the mother of two powerful kings[39] and refers to her *śāsana* (rule or charter, preferably the latter as she was not ruling over the kingdom at the time of issuing the

charter) as the chastiser of the enemies. The description of Prabhāvatīguptā as the mother of *two kings* is of great historical value as it helps solve a riddle of the Vākāṭaka history. In the present as well as the Riddhapur charter Prabhāvatīguptā is styled *Vākāṭakanām Mahārāja-śrī-Dāmodarasena-Pravarasena-jananī.*[40] This expression has been variously interpreted by historians, and according to some, Dāmodarasena was just another, pre-coronation, name of Pravarasena (II), the reigning monarch, and that the name Pravarasena was assumed by him at the time of his coronation.[41] If Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena were different personages, it has been argued, the title *mahārāja* should have been prefixed to Pravarasena also.[42] However, the use of the dual number in *vikrāntayoḥ* and *Vākāṭaka-narendrayoḥ* should leave no room for doubt that they were Separate persons, the latter following the former, and that the title *mahārāja* and the honorific *śrī* are intended for both. Divākarasena, who was apparently the eldest son of Rudrasena II and Prabhāvatīguptā and consequently the rightful claiment to the throne, is out of question in the present context, for, he remained a crown-prince or *yuvarāja* for full thirteen years as we learn from the Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā[43] and there is no evidence to indicate that he ever became a crowned king (*mahārāja*) in his own right. On the other hand we have the negative evidence against his accession as *mahārāja* in his non-mention among Prabhāvatīguptā's sons who rose to the status of *mahārāja*. It is thus clear that the two Vākāṭaka monarchs, whose mother Prabhāvatīguptā was, were no others than Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena II. It is worth noting in this connection that so far we have no definite indication that the Vakāṭakas followed the practice of adopting new name at the time of coronation which was prevalent among certain other dynasties.[44] As a fall out of this new evidence noticed here for the first time, provision will have to be made for the reign of Dāmodarasena and the chronology of the Nandivardhana branch of the Vākāṭaka dynasty will have to be somewhat modified.

Indore plates of Pravarasena II, Year 23[45]

The last three plates or this charter had been known to historians for quite a long time,[46] but the first plate had been missing with the result that its place of issue was not known. However, a few years ago this missing plate was found in the collection of Dr. Nagoo of Indore.[47] As expected, in keeping with the general format of the Vākāṭaka copper-plate grants this plate begins with the word *dṛishṭam*[48] followed by reference to the issuing place which is specified as *Tripurī-vāsakāt.*[49] The remainder of the text on the plate forms part of the genealogical account of the family well known from other records. The plates were thus issued from the king's resīdence at Tripurī which was an important ancient town of Central India going back to chalcolithic times and has been identified with the modern village of Tewar near Jabalpur to the north of the river Narmadā.[50] V.V. Mirashi, who edited this plate, took this expression to indicate that

Pravarasena II carried his arms north of the Narmadā into Ḍāhala or Baghelkhand region of Madhya Pradesh and occupied Tripurī in the twenty-third year of his reign, *siz* in *circa* A.D. 443.[51] He invites our attention to verse 4 of Skandagupta's Bhitari pillar inscription[52] which is generally taken to refer to the invasion of the Gupta empire by the Pushyamitras towards the close of the reign of Kumāragupta I in which the Guptas were reduced to such a precarious situation that Skandagupta, who was deputed to lead the defensive operations, had to spend a night on bare ground. However, as the reading *Pushyamitrāṁś=cha* is not beyond doubt, he prefers the alternative reading *yuddhay-amitrāṁś=cha* suggested by H.R. Divekar[53] and accepted by some other epigraphists[54] and holds that tne enemies said to have been vanquished by Skandagupta during the life-time of his father, Kumāragupta I, included the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II who went all out to expand his kingdom north of the Narmādā at the cost of his maternal uncle.[55] And identifying as he does the Vākāṭaka monarch Pṛithivīsheṇa mentioned as Vyāghradeva's sovereign in the latter's Nachna[56] and Ganj[57] inscriptions with the second Vākāṭaka monarch of that name, he holds that the Baghelkhand region whick was annexed by Pravarasena II continued under the Vākāṭakas till the close of Pṛithivīsheṇa II's reign in *circa* A.D. 490, *i.e.*, up to the time of the Gupta emperor Budhagupta.[58]

This line of argument is, however, beset with several difficulties. First of all, the term *vāsaka* does not necessarily denote a military camp, but refers only to a camp or temporary residence.[59] Taking the case of the Vākāṭakas themselves, the Waḍgaon grant of Pravarasena II was given from the monarch's *vāsaka* on the river Hiraṇya[60] which was situated very much within the Vākāṭaka realm and there could be no question of any military camp there. Moreover, if the intention were to refer to a military camp set up in course of an invasion of enemy territory, an expression with an explicit connotation like *skandhāvāra* or *jaya-skandhāvāra*, which is known to early Indian epigraphy,[61] would have been employed. It is, therefore, not necessary to assume that Pravarasena II had been to Tripurī only for military purposes. Relations between him and the Guptas being very close and friendly, he could have gone to and stayed at Tripurī (and for that matter, any place within the Gupta empire) for any purpose including pilgrimage, for, Tripurī appears to have been regarded as a holy place.[62] There would have been some justification for Mirashi's assumption had the localities mentioned in the charter in connection with the grant been situated in the Tripurī region, which as admitted by him, is not the case. Moreover, had the Gupta-Vākāṭaka relations become that inimical during Pravarasena II's reign as Mirashi would have us believe, the reference to the matrimonial alliance with the Guptas, which is certainly indicative of cordial relations, would have been dropped in subsequent records. However, the phrase expressing this relationship continues not only in subsequent records of Pravarasena II himself, but to the very end of the dynasty.[63] And lastly, we have

no evidence whatsoever to indicate the inclusion of the Baghelkhand region in the Vākāṭaka kingdom during the reign of Pṛithivīsheṇa II. The identification of Pṛithivīsheṇa mentioned in the Nachnā-kītalāī and Ganj inscriptions with the second Vākāṭaka ruler of that name, which forms the basis of this hypothesis, rests solely on the assumed identity of his feudatory Vyāghradeva with Vyāghra, father of the Uchchakalpa chief Jayanātha who is known to have been ruling in Gupta years 174 and 177[64] and whose reign may have, thus, extended from *circa* 490 to the early years of the sixth century A.D. If this identification were to be conceded, Vyāghra would have to be placed in *circa* A.D. 470-490 when Pṛithivīsheṇa II was on the throne. But such an important conclusion cannot be drawn merely on the basis of names. Moreover, we now have unimpeachable epigraphic evidence to show that in A.D. 487-88 Harivarman was ruling in the Baghelkhand area as a feudatory of the Gupta emperor Budhagupta and was preceded by at least two other *mahārājas* who also appear to have ruled as Gupta feudatories.[65] It would thus follow that during the period in question the Baghelkhand region of Madhya Pradesh was ruled by the vassals of the Guptas and, like other Uchchakalpa rulers, *mahāraja* Vyāghra of the Uchchakalpa family also was a Gupta vassal. The Vākāṭaka expansion in Baghelkhand from the time of Pravarasena II onward is, therefore, not supported by any dependable evidence and we are left with no alternative but to belive that the Gupta-Vākāṭaka relations continued to be cordial till the very close of the Nandivardhana branch of the Vākāṭakas. Pṛithivīsheṇa II cannot, therefore, be identified with the homonymous Vākāṭaka chief mentioned in the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions of his vassal Vyāghra. Consequentiy the only Vākāṭaka monarch who has to be identified with Vyāghra's suzerain known from these records is Pṛithivīsheṇa I who ruled in the second half of the fourth century A.D. It would thus follow that the Baghelkhand area, which seems to have been included in the Vākāṭaka kingdom from the very start,[66] continued under the dynasty till the time of Pṛithivīsheṇa I whereafter it seems to have come under Gupta supremacy.

Yavatmal plates of Pravarasena II, Year 26

Only two plates of this charter could be rescued from a copper-smith's melting pot at Yavatmal, the chief town of the district named after it in Maharashtra, by Shri R.M. Saklecha from whom they were acquired by Shri Prashant P. Kulkarni whose collection they adorn at present. The ring and the seal, like the rest of the plates (two or three) are missing. On comparing with other Vākāṭaka grants we find that the plates in question represent the second and the last plates of a charter. Although the record is, thus, incomplete, nothing of importance except only the name of the place of issue[67] seems to have been lost as the missing portion of the genealogical account[68] and details regarding privileges and exemptions

granted to the denees,[69] which must have been given on the missing plates, are known from numerous other records of the family.

The charter belongs to the reign of Pravarasena II and aims at recording the renewal, by him, of the donation of some land along with two housesites (*nivesana-dvaya*) in the village Lāṭakapallī included in the administrative unit named Shaḍgṛiśaka[70] in favour of Indrārya and Svāmideva who belonged to the Taittirīya *śākhā* of the Black *Yajurveda* and the Vatsa *gotra*. It is averred that the land was being already enjoyed by the donees (*i.e.*, it was in their possession) and that the grant was renewed by Pravarasena II by means of a copper-plate charter. The charter was given on the eleventh day of the fourth fortnight of the summer season in the twenty-sixth year, apparently of the donor's reign. It was written when Bāppadeva held the office of *senāpati*.

It will follow from the foregoing that ours was only the renewal of an old grant, and in the whole of the known Vākāṭaka epigraphy this is the only instance of its kind, all the remaining charters recording fresh grants. Unfortunately we have no information as to who was the original donor and what made it necessary to renew the grant. It may be mentioned, however, that we have a few other cases when fresh copper-plate charters were issued in place of earlier charters, sometimes written on palm-leaves,[71] consequent upon the destruction of the latter for some reason or other.[72] The present renewal also must have been due to some similar reasons.

This is, again, the only example of the royal order in respect of the grant being addressed to the village as a whole, the rest of the charters containing orders addressed to government officials with jurisdiction over the granted villages and the administrative units of which they formed part.[73]

The season date recorded in accordance with the older practice prevalent in the Deccan is also interesting and shows the continuing popularity of this mode of dating. Equally interesting is the Prakritism noticed in connection with the season dates in this[74] as well as a few other Vākāṭaka grants,[75] which are otherwise couched in Sanskrit. Like the season dates, this, too, appears to be a remnant of the older age characterised by the use of Prakrit.

While we know of several grants of Pravarasena II issued during the second to thiry-second years of his reign,[76] this is the first record of his twenty-sixth year to be reported so far.

The Siwani[77] and Waḍgaon[78] grants of Pravarasena II inform us that Bāppa-deva held the office of *senāpati* during the eighteenth and twenty-fifth years respectively of his reign. Our record indicates that he continued to enjoy this office during the twenty-sixth year as well.[79]

Paunī plates of Pravarasena II, Year 32

This set of four plates together with the ring on which they were strung and the seal were found at Paunī in the Bhandara District of Maharashtra.[80] Issued from Pravarapura, the charter incised on these plates registers the grant of a piece of land measuring fifty *nivartanas* by the royal measure (*rājanya-mānena*) by Pravarasena II to one Duggāryya who was a student of the *Ṛigveda* (Bahvṛicha)[81] and belonged to the Aupamanyava *gotra*. The plot of land together with a house-site (*niveśana*) which was given in exchange for some other land (*bhūmi-Prativastu*) was situated at Achalapura[82] included in the administrative unit called Kṛishṇā-leśāli-kaṭaka. Though the charter was issued from Pravarapura, the gift is said to have been actually made at a religious establishment (*dharmma-sthāna*), probably a temple, evidently during a royal visit to the place. The grant was written on the third day of the dark half of the month of Jyeshṭha during the thirty-second year, undoubtedly of Pravarasena II's reign, when Mādhappa was *senāpati*.

The importance of this record lies primarily in the fact that it supplies the latest date for the reign of Pravarasena II, viz., thirty-second year, the latest known year earlier being twenty-ninth when the Pandhurna plates were issued.[83]

As Mādhappa figures in the capacity of *senāpati* in the Pāṇḍhurṇā grant also, it will follow that he occupied this office at least from the twenty-ninth[84] to the thirty-second year of Pravarasena II's reign.

Achalapura, where the donated land and the religious establishment where the grant was actually made, were situated has been identified by V.B. Kolte, who edited the record,[85] with the present Achalpur (or Elichpur) in the Amarawati District, Maharashtra.[86] This does not, however, appear very likely. The plates were found buried at Paunī, a place of great antiquarian interest in the Bhandara District, and the word *śāli* forming part of the name of the administrative unit in which the Achalapura under reference was situated stands for paddy. In fact, the entire name of the *kaṭaka*, Kṛishṇāleśāli, reminds us of certain valued varieties of rice known as *kālī kamot* or *kālī mūṁchh* and seems to have been named after some such variety of paddy. Evidently the region was well-known for abundant paddy cultivation. It is interesting to note that the Bhandara region is even now regarded as the rice-bowl of Maharashtra. Achalapura mentioned in our record must, therefore, be differentiated from the above-mentioned homonymous locality in the Amarawati District and should be looked for somewhere in the Bhandara District in the proximity of Pauni.[87] The *kaṭaka* of Kṛishṇāleśāli also must be located somewhere in the same region.[88]

Māṇḍhaḷ plates of Pṛithivīsheṇa II, Year 2

The four plates bearing this record were found preserved in an earthen vessel

recovered in the excavations at Māṇḍhaḷ along with the aforesaid Māṇḍhaḷ grant of Pravarasena II and the charter of Pṛithivīsheṇa II to be noticed hereafter in 1976. Prior to the discovery of these two grants, two copper-plate inscriptions of Pṛithivīsheṇa II were known, to wit, the Bālāghāṭ[89] and Māhurjharī[90] plates. Of these the former was left incomplete for some reason which cannot be ascertained and the sealdisc does not bear any writing. As to the latter, the seal was lost before the plates came to light. Fortunately, the smaller and the larger rings as well as the seals of both the Māṇḍhaḷ grants are preserved with the result that we now know the inscriptions on the seals of this ruler including those lost or left unincised. For, it can be presumed justifiably that the writing on all of his seals must have been identical. Secondly, while the date is left out in the Bālāghāṭ grant,[91] that on the Māhurjharī plates is of the usual type with specification of the month, fortnight and *tithi*. Both the Māṇḍhaḷ charters, on the other hand, contain season dates which indicate the continuing popularity of such dates along with the other mode of dating. It will, thus, follow that the Māṇḍhaḷ plates are the only two copper-plate grants of Pṛithivīsheṇa II complete in all respects and dated according to the older method.

The charter under reference was issued from Rāmagiristhāṇa which is not referred to in any other Vākāṭaka inscription.[92] It is no doubt true that the Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatīguptā were given from the footprints of Rāmagirisvāmin;[93] but there also Rāmagiri is not spoken of as a *sthāna*. The genealogly up to Pravarasena II is practically the same as met with in the earlier records of the family, and only a small portion relating to Narendrasena and his son and successor, Pṛithivīsheṇa II, has been added. No regal title is applied to Narendrasena who is merely described as Pravarasena's son. This is evidently due to negligence on the part of the composer of the grant. Similarly, we find the next king and the donor of the charter, Pṛithivīsheṇa II, described only as 'Narendrasena's good son' (*Narendrasena-satputra*) and the '*mahārāja* of the Vākāṭakas'. The eulogistic account of these two monarchs met with in the other records of Pṛithivīsheṇa II including the other Māṇḍaḷ grant is missing here. It may indicate that the post-Pravarasena II *Praśasti* or draft was not yet standardised at the time of this charter; alternatively, this omission may have been due to oversight. The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by the reigning chief, of the village Kurubhajjaka in favour of Maheśvarasvāmin, Agnisvāmin and Brahmasvāmin who were sons of Mātṛisvāmin and grandsons of Droṇasvāmin and belonged to the Taittirīya *śākhā* of the Black *Yajurveda* and Kautsa *gotra*. Mātṛisvāmin, the father of the donees, was apparently the same as the homonymous donee of the Māṇḍhaḷ, plates of Pravarasena II. Accordingly, the name of Mātṛisvāmin's father, who is mentioned in Pravarasena II's grant under reference merely as *apratigrāhaka-upādhyāya*, was Droṇasvāmin. The grant is said to have

been made by Pṛithivīsheṇa II for the merit of his mother whose name is spelt as Ajjhikabhaṭṭārikā.[94] Though not stated explicitly, the grant was obviously made at her behest. The order in respect of the grant was addressed to the agriculturists and other residents of the donated village headed by the Brāhmaṇas.[95] The gifted village is said to have been included in the Uttarapaṭṭa and situated to the west of Lavaṇatailaka, north of Ishṭākapallī, (or Ishṭākpa),[96] east af the river Beṇṇā, and south of Govvasāhikā. All these villages can be identified satisfactorily to the north or rather north-east of the river Wainganga (ancient Beṇṇā) in the Bhandara District.[97] The administrative unit Uttarapaṭṭa, in which these villages were situated, was, therefore, named with reference to the flow of the Wainganga even as Aparapṭṭa was.

The grant was issued on the twelfth day of the seventh fortnight of the summer season during the second regnal year of Pṛithivīsheṇa II. As stated above, of the two grants of Pṛithivīsheṇa II known prior to the discovery of the present charter, the Bālāghāṭ charter remained incomplete and undated while the Māhurjharī plates were issued in the seventeenth regnal year. The second set of Māṇḍhaḷ plates was given in his tenth year. The present grant is, thus, the earliest known dated record of Pṛithivīsheṇa II.

At the time of this charter Vishṇudatta held the office of *senāpati*, while the inscription was written by Śarvvadatta. The former has come to be known for the first time from the Māṇḍhaḷ plates.

The seal-inscription, which has come to be known for the first time, refers to Pṛithivīsheṇa II as the good son (*satputra*) of Narendrasena, master of the royal fortune of the Vākāṭakas and as eager for conquests, and speaks of his rule as victorious.[98] It will be noticed that this inscription, though couched, in the *Anushṭubh* metre like other known inscriptions on the copper seals of the Vākāṭakas, is somewhat different in nature and content from its counterpart on part on the seals of Prabhāvatīguptā and her son Pravarasena II.

Māṇḍhaḷ Charter of Pṛithivīsheṇa II, Year 10

Incised on a set of four plates,[99] this charter was issued from Beṇṇāṭaṭasthāna, evidently the headquarters of the administrative unit known as Beṇṇāṭaṭa,[100] and records the donation of the village Govasāhikā to four Brāhmaṇas, viz., Maheśvara-svāmin, Brahmasvāmin, Harasvāmin and Varāhasvāmin. All these Brāhmaṇas were residents of Beṇṇaṭaṭa and belonged to the Kautsa *gotra*.[101] Though not stated explicitly in the present record, we learn from the above-mentioned Māṇḍhaḷ plates of Pravarasena II and Pṛithivīsheṇa II that they were students of the Taittirīya *śākhā* of the Black *Yajurveda*. The present inscription is reticent regarding the ancestry of the donees; but we learn from the previous grant of Pṛithivīsheṇa II that Maheśvarasvāmin and Brahmasvāmin were sons and grandsons of Mātṛisvāmin

and Droṇasvāmin respectively. Similar may have been the case with Harasvāmin and Varāhsvāmin as well. It would, thus, follow that the grants recorded in the three Māṇḍhaḷ charters of Pravarasena II and Pṛithivīsheṇa II were made in favour of two generations of the same family.

The donated village is said to have been included in the Uttarapaṭṭa, evidently in the district of Veṇṇāṭaṭa, and is said to have been situated to the west of Śulkavaṭa, north of Kurubhejñaka, east of the river Beṇṇā, and south of Piḍerikā, Of these, Govasāhikā, and Beṇṇā figure in the previous record also and have been discussed in that connection, while Kurubhejñaka is apparently the same as Kurubhajjaka mentioned in the same inscription. As to Śulkavaṭa, it may have been named after a banyan tree close to an octroi post at the boundary of the village. Though it is difficult to identify it at present, a look at the map of the adjoining area indicates that it was situated approximately at the same place as modern Kosarā, which is exactly to the east of the villages identified with the ancient Govasahikā. Piderikā, which is said to have been to the north of Govasāhikā, seems to be represented by the modern village of Peṭarī whose location answers the description in the record.

The charter was given on the first day of the first fortnight of the summer season in the tenth regnal year of Pṛithivīsheṇa II. It was written by Śarvvadatta when Vishṇudatta was *senāpati*. The combined evidence of the present and the preceding records shows that Vishṇudatta continued to occupy this office from at least the second to at least the tenth year of Pṛithivīsheṇa II's reign. The writer Śarvvadatta is also known from the previous grant.

The seal-inscription is literally identical with that of the preceding charter and calls for no further comments.

The post-Pravarasena II genealogical account of the family, which was missing but for the names of the ruling chiefs in the preceding grant, is found in a fully developed form in the present inscription and was retained in the subsequent records of Pṛithivīsheṇa II with only some necessary alterations.[102] We should, in particular, like to refer here to a couple of phrases occurring in these grants,[103] one each in connection with Narendrasena and his son, Pṛithivīsheṇa II. One of these expressions referring to the former has been read by F. Kielhorn,[104] V.V. Mirashi[105] and V.B. Kolte[106] as *pūrvv-ādhigata*-guṇa-viśvāsād=apahṛita-vaṁśa-śriyaḥ,[107] which, according to Kielhorn, meant that Narendrasena, 'from confidence in excellent qualities[108] previously acquired by him, took away (or appropriated) the family's fortune'.[109] This interpretation is followed by Mirashi who merely drops the alternative word 'appropriated' and replaces 'the (*royal*) fortune of (*his*) *family*' for 'the family's fortune'.[110] But while Kielhorn felt that this expression alluded to a scuffle for succession and that Narendrasena took away the kingdom (probably from an elder brother),[111] Mirashi held that no reference to a disputed

succession was intended and that this is just a poetic way of saying that Narendrasena attracted royal fortune by his noble qualities.[112] Kielhorn's rendering was evidently influenced by the inadequate understanding of the evidence afforded by the Ajantā inscription of Varāhadeva while Mirashi seems to ignore the fact that the root *apa-hṛi* is not normally employed in the sense of taking possession of something rightfully one's own. A.S. Altekar seems to have been nearer the correct interpretation when he took *apahrita-viṁśa-śriyaḥ* to mean 'who carried away the fortune of his own family' and suggested a forcible seizure.[113] According to him, it refers to the restoration of his family fortunes by Narendrasena after defeating the Naḷas of Bastar who had for some time been in possession of a sizeable part of the Vākāṭaka kingdom.[114] This interpretation is followed by V.B. Kolte also.[115] The present inscription, however, affords an entirely new dimension to the problem by offering the reading *pūrvv-ādhigata-guṇavad=dayād-āpahṛita-vaśa-śriya*, which we have to restore as *pūrvv-ādhīgata-guṇavad=dāyādāpahrita-viṁśa-śriyāḥ*. In fact, the correct reading of this phrase in the Māhurjharī plates also is, as will appear from a glance at the facsimile accompanying Kolte's paper, *pūrvv-ādhigata-guṇavad =dāyād-āpahṛita-vaṁ (ṁ) śa-śriya* [ḥ*][116] which is even better than that in the Māṇḍhaḷ grant. This was also the intended reading in the Bālāghāṭ plates though it is rather badly engraved. This phrase, as restored by us, is pregnant with great historical significance as it alludes to an hitherto unknown event during Narendrasena's reign in which his own *dāyādas* were involved. We may break this phrase as *pūrvam-adhigatā guṇavatā dāyādena apahṛitā vaṁśaśrīḥ yasya tasya*[117] which, if accepted, would indicate that Narendrasena had at first succeeded to his famlly fortune, *viz.*, throne, but was subsequently deprived of it by a *dāyāda* or *dāyādas*. The word *dāyāda* primarily means 'heirs to property', *i.e.*, sons or brothers in relations to each other with a claim to inheritance. If we adopt this primary meaning, it would follow that Narendrasena was divested of his kingdom (or a part thereof) by his cosharers (brothers or other close relations) during the part of his career. It would, thus, appear that the demise of Pravarasena II was followed by a struggle for succession in which his son (or one of his sons) Narendrasena was at first successful, but at a subsequent stage other *dāyāda* got an upper hand and seized the family fortune. *Dāyāda* has, however, a secondary meaning also, *viz.*, a distant relative or kinsman,[118] and if this were the intended meaning, it may as well refer to a feud between the two branches (Nandivardhana and Vatsagulma) of the Vākāṭakas during Narendrasena's reign in which Narendrasena was defeated and lost the kingdom or a major portion thereof.[119] It is difficult to be more definite on this point for want of necessary evidence, but there is no gainsaying the fact that the phrase in question sheds new light on the history of the Nandivardhana branch of the family and knocks at the bottom of the unfounded belief that the succession among the Vākāṭakas was peaceful and that the relations between their two branches remained quite cordial.

In view of the precarious state to which Narendrasena was subjected in the later part of his reign, the statement in this grant as well as the Māhurjharī and Bālāghāṭ plates that his behests were obeyed by the rulers of Kosalā (Chhattisgarh region), Mekalā (Amarkantak area) and Mālavā (Malwa) in the present state of Madhya Pradhesh looks somewhat boastful. In any case we have no independent evidence in support of this claim. Neither any record of the Vākāṭakas has been reported from these regions nor do records of the ruling families of these regions contain any allusion to the Vākāṭakas. The claim in regard to Mekalā was till recently sought to be substantiated on the assumption and that the Bamhanī plates made a veiled allusion to Narendrasena and that Bharatabala, the Pāṇḍava chief of Mekalā and the supposed issuer of these plates, was a vassal of Narendrasena.[120] However, the recently published Mallār plates have demonstrated beyond doubt that these assumptions are erroneous. Furthermore, as we have shown elsewhere, Bharatabala and his son and successor Śūrabala Udīrṇavaira, the real issuer of the Bamhanī plates, were separated from Narendrasena by a long period of time and consequently there can be no question of any one of them owing allegiance to him.[121] In view of these facts it is difficult to appreciate the exact significance of these claims. But we know that the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I had to face a lot of difficulties during the closing years of his reign and some of his vassals in these regions may have exploited the situation to assert their independence. It is not impossible that in keeping with the closeness of their relations with the Guptas the Vākāṭakas rendered valuable help to the Gupta emperor in maintaining his hold in these areas. Narendrasena, either as a prince-commander or after his accession may have played an important role in this matter, and this may have formed the basis of his claims in question made in the records of his son.[122] Alternatively, we may surmise that he took advantage of the precarious situation in which his Gupta cousin was placed to carry out hurried raids in these territories.

Our inscription describes Pṛithivīsheṇa II as *magnavaṁś-oddhartṛi*,[123] 'resurrector of the sunken family'. This phrase is repeated in his Māhurjharī plates also.[124] The incomplete Bālāghāt plates prefix to it the word *dvi*.[125] Kielhorn,[126] followed by Mirashi,[127] takes *dvi* to be a mistake for *ni* and thinks that the intended reading in the Bālaghat grant was *nimagna-vaṁśasy-oddhartuḥ*.[128] However, the recently discovered Māṇḍhaḷ and Māhurjharī charters in question, which do not prefix *dvi* or *ni* to this expression, show that the addition of *dvi* was deliberate and that the composer of the Bālāghāṭ plates was eager to credit his master with the restoration of the sunken family twice in contrast to the remaining two charters which describe him simply as the resurrector of the sunken family. This second calamity evidently occurred sometime after the seventeenth regnal year of Pṛithivīsheṇa II, the date of the Mahurjharī plates. While we are at present not in a position to ascertain the exact nature of these two catastrophes, the first calamity, alluded to in the

Māṇḍhaḷ and Māhurjharī plates, was apparently the one that had led to Narendrasena's deprivation of his family fortune by his own relative (or relatives) and the restoration of the fallen family fortune was evidently the first task that his son Pṛithivīsheṇa II must have taken upon himself immediately after his accession. The second calamity, referred to in the Bālāghāṭ grant, may have been caused by the invasion of the Naḷas who had occupied a large part of the kingdom under the Nandivardhana branch of the Vākāṭakas.[129] It is hardly necessary to add that the Bālāghāṭ plates must be placed sometime after the seventeenth year of his reign.

Māhurjharī plates of Pṛithivīsheṇa II, Year 17

The five-plate set bearing this charter together with the ring on which it is strung as well as the smaller ring meant for sliding the seal but without the seal-disc was found while ploughing in a field adjacent to the Māhurjharī village near Nagpur. It has been edited by V.B. Kolte.[130]

The plates were issued from Pṛithivīsamudra by Pṛithivīsheṇa II, and their object is to register the grant of the village Jamalakheṭaka to the Brāhmaṇas Vishṇudatta and Bhavadatta who were residents of Pṛithivīpura and students of the Vājasaneyī *śākhā* of the White *Yajurveda* and had Kāśyapa for their *gotra*. It is noteworthy in this connection that this is so far the only indubitable reference to the Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā in the Vākāṭaka records,[131] most other references being to the Taittirīya *śākhā* of the Black *Yajurveda*.

As already pointed out, Kolte, following Kielhorn and Mirashi, reads one of the phrases describing Narendrasena as *pūrvv-ādhigata-guṇa-viśvāsād=apahṛita-vaṁśa-śrsyaḥ*, but the correct reading is *pūrvv-ādhigata-guṇavad=dāyād-āpahṛita-vaṁśa-śriyaḥ*[132] and refers to a serious family feud wherein Narendrasena was worsted. The expression *pratāpa-praṇat-āriśāsanasya* in the description of Narendrasena is found here for the first time and is thereafter repeated in the Balaghat plates; evidently hereonward it became part of the standard *praśasti* of this king. Furtheron, the donor, Pṛithivīshena II, is described, as in the preceding record, as *magna-vaṁśoddharttṛ*, 'resurrector of the sunken family', which, as shown above, indicates that the addition of the word *dvi* before it in the draft of the Balāghāṭ plates was deliberate. The significance of these phrases has been discussed above.

The charter was written under the supervision of *Senāpati* Ravidatta on the twelfth *tithi* of the bright half of Kārttika. As we have seen above, the office of *senāpati* was occupied by Vishṇudatta till the tenth year of Pṛithivīsheṇa II's reign and Ravidatta must have taken over sometime between that year and the seventeenth year.

The granted village, Jamalakheṭaka, is stated to have been situated in the *mārga* of the same name which itself formed part of the *Ārambī-rājya*,[133] which was evidently a larger administrative division. Its boundaries are given as follows: it was to the west of Somadarī, east of Nāndīpuraka, south of Ubbhilaka, and north of Jalakubhaka. It may be reasonably assumed that Pṛithivīpura, where the donees resided, was also included in the Ārambī-*rājya*. And so must have been Pṛithivīsamudra, the place of the issue of the present charter. As indicated by the first part of their names, they must have been christened or rechrsitened by Pṛithivīsheṇa II after himself.

Kolte thinks that Pṛithivṛsamudra was the capital of Pṛithivīshena II and that Pṛithivīpura may have been its another name. And since the dynastic capital was being shifted from east to west, *viz.*, from Padmapura to Nandivardhana and from the latter to Pravarapura, because of mounting pressure from some aggressor, probably the Nalas, Pṛithivīsamudra (as well as Pṛithivīpura) must have been situated considerably to the west of Pravarapura or Paunār. And accordingly he proposes to identify it with the modern village of Samudrapura in the Hinganghat Taluq of the Wardha District.

We find it difficult to accept to this suggestion. The key to the solution of this problem lies in the location of the *Ārambī-rājya*. We are inclined to identify it with the Ārammi-*rājya* mentioned in the Dudiā[134] and Pāṇḍhurṇā[135] plates of the twenty-third and twenty-ninth years respectively of the reign of Pravarasena II, the slight difference in the spelling of the concluding *akshara* of the name of the *rājya* being of no significance as such minor differences are not uncommon in Vākāṭaka records. It is pertinent to remember in this connection that the other two inscriptions referring to the *rājya* have been found in the Chhindwara District of Madhya Pradesh, while Māhurjharī the provenance of the present record, in the adjoining Nagpur District. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the Ārammi-*rājya* included parts of the Nagpur and Katol taluqs of the Nagpur District and the adjoining part of the Chhindwara District. It may be pointed out in the present context that there is still a village named Ārambhi near Katol. It will consequently be worthwhile to locate the *rājya* in question in this area and look for the localities included in it there.[136] Viewing from this angle, Māhurjharī itself has a strong case for identification with Pṛithivīsamudra. It has even now a large water-reservoir which could be figuratively called *samudra*. It may have been in existence at the time of Pṛithivīsheṇa or may have been excavated and named/ renamed by him after himself.[137] The township adjoining it also may have been named similarly. The numerous megalithic stone circles adjoining the township show that its antiquity goes back to about mid-fifth century B.C.[138] It must be mentioned that the two components of its present name also refer two separate but connected things; *jharī*, the second component, to the water-reservoir and Māhur,

a derivative from Mātṛipura, to the township. In all probability Mātṛipura is an ancient name going back to pre-Vākāṭaka times, indicating that the place was regarded as sacred because of being an abode of the Mother Goddess and the tank, too, may have been regarded as sacred. It is, therefore, more likely that the township and the reservoir were renamed by Pṛithivīsheṇa. Because of the sanctity attached to the tank, Pṛithivīsheṇa II may have gone over there on pilgrimage and issued the grant under reference after bathing in it. We have numerous other epigraphic references of this type. There is, therefore, no question of Pṛithivī-samudra being the new dynastic capital established by Pṛithivīsheṇa II after deserting the earlier capital at Pravarapura. As for the non-retention of the newly given name, we must remember that more often than not older names persist and survive new names of which we notice numerous instances in our own times. And if the township and the tank were re-named by Pṛithivīsheṇa II himself, we should not be surprised at this phenomenon as, in the present state of our knowledge, he seeems to have been the last ruler of the Nandivardhana branch of the dynasty and there was none to enforce the perpetuation of these new names.

VATSAGULMA BRANCH

Hisse-Borālā Stone-slab Inscription of Devasena, Śaka 380

The slab bearing this four-line inscription was found accidentally amidst what may be regarded as the remnants of an ancient dam near the village of Hisse-Borāla, about 9½ kms. south of Wasim in the Akola District. Ever since the discovery of this record there has been prolonged controversy regarding who deserves the credit of its discovery as well as the interpretation of a portion of the inscription, and a number of epigraphists including Shobhana Gokhale,[139] V.B. Kolte,[140] G.S. Gai and S. Sankaranarayanan,[141] the present writer[142] and B.N. Mukherjee[143] participated in it. The latter controversy centres primarily around the interpretation of the initial portion of the inscription which is considerably damaged and has become unascertainable due to the breakage of the portion of the slab bearing it. But the main contents and purport are fairly clear.

The epigraph commences with the specification of date which is first indicated astronomically with reference to the position of the Saptarshis or Seven Bears and then in the Śaka era. The reading and interpretation of the astronomical portion are highly uncertain, and consequently subject of a wide difference of opinion among scholars, particularly Kolte and Gai and Sankaranarayanan. This is, as pointed out above, due to the fact that the stone is broken away at this place. Thereafter we find mention of Śaka 380 (=A.D. 458). Even Kolte, who feels that there is no explicit reference to the Śaka date, holds that the astronomical details lead to the same Śaka year.[143a]

The object of this short epigraph is to record that a lake named Sudarśana

was constructed by a certain *Āryya* Svāmilladeva, an obedient servant (*ājñākara*) of the Vākāṭaka king Devasena, for the benefit of all the creatures in Śaka 380, corresponding to A.D. 457-58. One Bappa was the supervisor (*karmopadeshṭri*) of this work. A wish is expressed that this meritorious deed should last as long as the changes of the four aeons (*yugas*), the sun the moon and the earth exist. The remnants of the ancient dam mentioned above evidently represent the construction referred to in this record.

This is the only lithic record and, for that matter, the only complete inscription of Devasena, the penultimate member of the Vatsagulma branch, and by virtue of specifying a Śaka date, provides the so far only known definite date in the history of the Vākāṭakas. It is noteworthy that this alone of all the Vākāṭaka records is dated in the Śaka era, the rest being dated with reference to the years of individual reigns. The key to understand this strange phenomenon[144] is afforded by the name, Sudarśana, given to the lake, which was evidently borrowed from the well-known lake of that name near Girnar in the Junagadh District of Gujarat which was originally constructed by Chandragupta Maurya and subsequently repaired and enlarged by Aśoka Maurya, Śaka *Mahākshatrapa* Rudradāman I and the Gupta emperor Skandagupta and, thus, had a chequered history lasting nearly eight centuries. We may, therefore reasonably conclude that Svāmilladeva, who was responsible for getting this inscription engraved and, of course, for the excavation of the lake recorded in it, hailed from Gujarat where the Śaka era had been in use ever since its initiation. This date, it goes without saying, affords a *terra firma* for the chronology of the Vākāṭakas in general and of the Vatsagulma branch in particular.

The present inscription contains the earliest known specific mention of the Śaka era by name in so far as the Vidarbha region is concerned and the second oldest reference in the country as a whole. The earliest undoubted reference to the reckoning by name is met with in the Wāḷa (Thane District, Maharashtra) inscription of the Bhoja-Maurya chief Suketuvarman recording the consecration of god Koṭīśvara on the full moon day of Vaiśākha when the Śaka year 322 was current.[145] The second reference is that found in our epigraph and the third one (Śaka 465) found in the Badami rock inscription of Chālukya Pulakeśi I is separated from it by a long gap of eighty-five years.[146]

Thāḷner grant of Herishena, Year 3

This charter is incised on a set of three plates which along with the ring but without the seal were acquired by a copper-smith of Dhuḷe from a resident of Thāḷner (ancient Sthālakanagara) in the Dhuḷe (fromerly West Khandesh) district and has been edited by D.R. Bhat[147] and V.V. Mirashi[148].

Chronologically the second complete copper-plate charter of the Vatasgulma branch of the dynasty and the only known official record of its last known member, Harisheṇa, it records his donation of a couple of villages and certain lands in some other villages in favour of the Brāhmaṇas Devasāmin, Gaṅgasvāmin, Varāhasvāmin, Khūḍasvaṇmin, Dharasvāmin and others who were students of the *Sāmaveda* and belonged to the Padaṅchalla *gotra*. The granted villages and pieces of land in other villages were as follows: (i) Bhaṭṭikāpadra to the east of Jātīkkheṭaka and west of Vaṭālika; (ii) Kumāradāsavātaka on the southern bank of the river Mayasinī in Vaṁsīvāhall[149]. and lying to the east of ChChhabilānaka and west of Bodrakānaka; (iii) 20 or 20½[150] *nivartanas* of land in Kaṁsakāragrāma included in the Ānarttapura-*bhukti*, (iv) a piece of land measuring[151] 20½ *nivartanas* in the Suvarṇṇakāragrāma,[152] and (v) a plot of the same measurement in the village of Govachchhetaṭī. Some of these villages have been located in the Dhuḷe District.

As in other copper-plate inscriptions of the family,[153] the present record also gives genealogical account in the beginning. But this portion differs from its counterparts in other records in contents and nature. In all the other official records the account begins with Pravarasena I, and for information regarding his father Vindhyaśakti I we have to depend on the dynastic accounts found in some of the Purānas and Ajanta Cave XVI inscription of Varāhadeva, a minister of Harisheṇa.[154] However, the Thāḷner plates begin their account with him and describe him as the first (*ādi*) *dharmmamahārāja* of the Vākāṭakas.[155] It seems as if Vindhyaṣakti, who was forgotten or ignored by all the earlier members of the dynasty whose records have come down to us, was remembered reverentially, for some reason which cannot be determined, during the reign of its last known member. Next it described Pravarasena I. But thereafter it takes a leap and skips over a number of the members of the Vatasgulma branch including Sarvasena I, its founder, and his son Vindhyaṣakti II, who is known from his Wasim plates which, for the first time, brought this branch of the dynasty to light. In a strange manner, as if in great haste, it describes Harisheṇa, the donor, as the great-grandson of the grandson of the son of Pravarasena I, grandson of Sarvvasena and son of Devasena. This description agrees with the genealogy reconstructed with the help of the Wasim plates of Vindhyaṣakti II and the Ajanta Cave XVI inscription of Harishena's minister Varāhadeva. However, the name of Devasena's father which was lost in the Ajanta inscription, is suyplied by this record. It is Sarvvasena which we may call Sarvasena II in order to distinguish it from that of the founder of this branch who should now be known as Sarvvasena I. It is interesting to note that the tiles *Dharmmamahārāja* and *Hāritīputra* are applied only to Pravarasena I, while his father Vindhyaṣakti I is given only the first title. The rest of the kings including Harisheṇa are styled simply *Mahārāja*. In the Wasim plates also Pravarasena I alone is styled Hāritīputra; but the title *Dharmmamahāraja*, which is applied to his son Sarvvasena I and grandson Vindhyaśakti, is not

given to him, either by oversight or because *samrāt* applied to him in all the records, was thought to be enough[156] In any case, it is obvious that in the records, of this branch the title *Hāritīputra* is employed only to Pravarasena I and *Dharmmamahārāja* to him as well as the first two members of this branch. This difference cannot be satisfactorily explained for want of necessary evidence. It may be possible to get some light on this problem when some offiicial records come to light.

The grant recorded in this charter is said to have been made with the permission of a certain Gomikarāja (*Gomikarāj-ānujñātaṃ*). Who this Gomikarāja was, we have no means to know. Mirashi thinks that he was probably the local chief of the Dhuḷe region belonging to the Kumbhakarṇa family brought to light by a couple of copper-plate charters of king Bhānusheṇa with Sthālakanagara (modern Thāḷner) for his capital and owing allegiance to the Traikūṭakas. It has been surmised that he was vanquished by and submitted to Harisheṇa who launched on a campaign of victory and vengeance against the Traikūṭakas who had occupied a portion of the Vākāṭaka kingdom on the western boundary of Vidarbha. It is averred that in course of this expedition he defeated Gomikarāja but did not annex the territory under him. And as the donated villages were situated in his vanquished enemy's territory, he thought it necessary to formally obtain his new vassal's consent for the grant recorded in these plates. Unfortunately there is absolutely no evidence to support this reconstruction. The theory of the Traikūṭaka occupation of the Vākāṭaka territory is based solely on the find of a few silver coins of Dahrasena in a small hoard at Dahigaon in the Malkapur Taluka of the Buldhana District. But as we have shown elsewhere,[157] the discovery of a single lot of coins of a chief in a territory outside his dominions cannot by itself be construed as an evidence of occupation. For in that case we shall have to believe that the Śaka Kshatrapas of Chashṭana's line ruled over the whole of Maharashtra and a considerable portion of Andhra Pradesh, not to speak of other regions, where hoards of their coins have been found in good numbers. There can, therefore, be no question of the Traikūṭaka occupation of a part of the Vākāṭaka territory and Harisheṇa's wrecking vengence against the Traikūṭakas. Further, while we do not deny Harisheṇa's conquest of the Thāḷner region or, in case of its occupation by one of his predecessor's, its retention by him, we have absolutely no indication that the grant was made immediately after his conquest of Thāḷner as has been suggested. And but for the name-ending *rāja*, which cannot be taken as an indubitable indication of the regal status, there is nothing to suggest that Gomikarāja, with whose permission or consent the grant is stated to have been made, was a ruling chief, much less that he was the vanquished lord of Thāḷner. It is difficult to believe that the conqueror would ever feel it necessary to seek his vānquished enemy's or vassal's permission to grant land in the latter's territory. At least, to my knowledge, there is no such instance on record. An exactly paralled expression occurs in the Malhārā plates of the Muṇḍaputra chief Ādityarāja which

are said to have been given at the behest of Yajñarāja (*Yajñarāj-ānujñāta*)[158] who appears to have been an elderly revered member of the same family. The same may have been in the case with Gomikarāja as well. Alternatively, it is not impossible that the composer of the record erroneously used the word *anujñāta* instead of *prārthanayā* and that the grant was actually made at the request of Gomikarāja. But this appears less likely.

The charter was registered on the twelfth day of the fourth fortnight of the rainy season in the third year of Harisheṇa's reign. As we have seen above, the two Māṇḍhaḷ of Pṛithivīsheṇa II also contain season dates. The present record, which, in the present state of our information, furnishes the latest known instance of the use of the season date, evidences the continuity of this mode of dating till the close of the fifth century A.D.

The *dūtaka*[159] or executor of the grant was Svāmiladeva, and it was written by Boppadeva. Whether this Svāmiladeva is to be identified with Svāmilladeva known as an officer of Devasena from the Hisse-Borāḷā inscription,[160] cannot be ascertained; but the possibility cannot be ruled out. Similarly Boppadeva of the present record may be identified with Bappa of the other inscription.[161]

APPENDIX

After the above was completed, two more inscriptions, both of them unpublished so far, were brought to our notice. Their contents are briefly underlined here.

RAMTEK INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PRABHĀVATĪGUPTĀ

This inscription is found engraved on a rectangular lithic slab measuring 1.04 × 0.56 m. fixed on the right wall inside the *maṇḍapa* of the Kevala-Narasiṁha temple at Ramtek, a well-known religious spot and pilgrimage centre in the Nagpur District popularly identified with the celebrated Rāmagiri mentioned in Kālidāsa's *Megha-dūta*. It may be mentioned that this is the only Vākāṭaka inscription reported so far from Ramtek. It came to light in course of the cleaning operations undertaken by the Archaeology Department of the Govt. of Maharashtra.

The inscription is engraved in the southern variety of Brāhmī with solid triangles, instead of square boxes, on the tops of letters, and the language is Sanskrit. In so far as it can be made out, it appears to have been composed entirely in verse and originally formed a beautiful piece of classical Sanskrit poetry. There are in all fifteen lines of writing. Unfortunately, however, a considerable portion at the end of all the lines as well as in the middle of many a line has been irreparably damaged and lost for historical purposes, most probably due to inadvertent strokes of hammer and other tools in course of cleaning operations. And what little has escaped destruction makes little sense and gives only a faint

idea of its likely object. The only thing that can be done under the circumstances is to indicate bits of information that can be made out, sometimes very doubtfully, from the preserved portion.

The record seems to belong to the reign of Pravarasena II of the Nandivardhana-Pravarapura branch of the Vākāṭakas as can be guessed from line 14 which seems to aver that the pious act recorded in it was intended for the merit of his mother.[162] The object of the inscription is not clear, but it was obviously to record the construction of the temple of Kevala Narasiṁha in which the slab bearing it is fixed and some acts related thereto. This may also be inferred from an allusion to a temple (*prāsāda*) in line 14. The preserved portion in the first four lines makes no sense, and we can only suppose that the initial portion contained, *inter alia*, an invocation to Vishṇu or one of his manifestations, not unlikely the man-lion form. There was some personal name in line 4, but it is now lost. It is likely that Prabhāvatīguptā was mentioned.[163] Line 5 refers to Chandragupta, evidently the homonymous Gupta emperor, *viz.*, Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, father of Prabhāvatīgupta, who is described as 'god of gods' (*deva-deva*)[164] and what is more interesting, as the 'lord of three oceans' (*tri-samudra-nātha*). The style 'one whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans' (*chatur=udadhi-salil-āsvādita-yaśas*) is commonly applied in later inscriptions to Samudragupta[165] and is found once transferred to his grandson Kumāragupta I.[166] The Mandasor inscription of the silk-weavers guild speaks of Kumāragupta I as ruling over the earth girdled by the four oceans,[167] and the same description with slight difference in wording is applied to Skandagupta.[168] But these are merely conventional descriptions and are of no historical value. But the same cannot be said about the title 'lord of the three oceans' which is not known to have been applied to any other Gupta monarch, and it does not appear to be totally bareft of historical significance. It will be admitted on all hands that this title is pertinent only in South Indian context, and is applied in a slightly different form (*ti-samuda-toya-pita-vahanasa*, 'whose mounts had tasted the waters of the three oceans' to the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi in the Nasik inscription of the nineteenth year of the reign of his son Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi.[169] As Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi controlled a considerable portion of the peninsula, the justification, at least partial, of applying this title to him cannot be doubted. The employment of this title for Chandragupta II in this inscription seems to indicate that at the time of its composition he was regarded, at least theoretically, as the overlord of a considerable part of the South Indian peninsula, which is reminiscent of Samudragupta's peninsular conquests described in his Allahabad pillar inscription memory whereof might have lingered on to Chandragupta II's period. This claim becomes all the more significant as it is met within the inscription of another dynasty. Historically, speaking it is indicative of the tremendous influence verging on political hegemony wielded by Chandragupta II over a large part of the Deccan

during the regency of his daughter Prabhāvatīgupta and the reign of his grandson Pravarasena II. This may perhaps explain why the Gupta-Vākāṭaka matrimonial alliance is invariably mentioned as a matter of pride in all the official records of the Nandivardhana branch of the Vākāṭakas. We are also reminded here of the reference, with pride, to the matrimonial alliance with the Guptas established by the Kadamba king Kākutsthavarman.[170] This shall suffice to show that the statement of the Meharauli inscription that the southern ocean was rendered fragrant by the winds of his prowess is not an empty boast.[171]

This line (5) also mentions a *sena*-ending name, the first part of which is damaged; but it began with *ru* so that it can be restored as Rudra, and the intended name was Rudrasena. As the name is given in dative singular, it may be supposed that the reference was to giving in marriage of Parbhāvatīguptā to Rudrasena II. Line 6 refers to some person who is described as bearing the entire burden of the great kingdom and as a bull among (*i.e.*, chief of) the people of the earth.[172] There was also reference to a lady (*aṅganā*) whose name contained the letter *do* and concluded with *chā*. The remaining portion of the name is lost. She is probably the same as the sister's daughter (*bhāgineyī*) of the king of kings (*raja-rāja*) mentioned in the next line which seems to refer to her marriage. Other details are lost. The *rāja-rāja* was apparently Chandragupta II's son and successor of Kumāragupta I whose sister Prabhāvatīguptā was. What Kumāragupta did in connection with the marriage of his sister's daughther and to whom she was married is not clear. The purport of line 8 cannot be made out. Line 9 also cannot be interpreted satisfactorily, but from the general tone it appears to refer to the death of some person, maybe crown prince Divākarasena, and his mother's brother (viz., Kumāragupta I) taking her, obviously temporarily, to his residence, perhaps at Pāṭaliputra. One has, however, to take this surmise cautiously and should refrain from indulging in wild conjectures. Nothing can be made out of line 10 but for a reference to the capital (*manujendra-purī*); whose capital we do not know. The name, if given, is lost. Line 11 refers to the temple of Prabhāvatīsvāmin which is evidently the same as the Kevala-Narasiṁha wherein the present inscription is found and was named after Prabhāvatīguptā. Such *svāmin*-ending names formed after those of the persons responsible for their construction or those sought to be commemorated were quite common in those days. Whether Prabhāvatiguptā herself built the temple or it was constructed by her son, cannot be ascertained. The temple was probably placed under the charge of a local *maṭha*. There is reference also to the inexhaustible merit, evidently accruing from the construction of the temple. Line 12 informs us of the excavation of a tank called Sudarśana at the village of Kadalīvāṭaka. The name of the person responsible for its excavation was also given, but it is damaged. The only thing that can be said with some degree of certitude is that it was a male person as would follow from the word *kārayitri* in

masculine form (*kārayitā*): he may have been Pravarasena II. The name Sudarśana is interesting and seems to have been borrowed from the famous homonymous water-reservoir near Junagargh with excavation, extension and renovation of which Chandragupta Maurya, Aśoka, Rudradāman I and Skandagupta were associated during about eight centuries of its documented existence. Another indication of the knowledge of this reservoir is round in the above-mentioned Hisse-Borala inscription of Devasena's reign. We also find mention of Prabhāvatī, whether Prabhāvatiguptā or the temple named after her we cannot say as the immediately following letters are lost. The village Kadalīvāṭaka cannot be definitely identified. There, is, of course, a village named Kelāpur, some miles to the north of Ramtek; but whether it represents Kadalīvāṭaka of present inscription cannot be ascertained. The next line seems to say that half of the merit, evidently accruing from these pious acts or only the excavation of Sudarśana lake or from some other act, was dedicated to the Brahma or Brāhmaṇas. Then follows a reference to the mother and father; perhaps the rest of the merit was meant for them. We also have the word *kray-odbhavam* which probably refers to the merit accruing from the purchase of the whole or part of the village of Kadalīvāṭaka where the lake was excavated and which was given away to the temple of Prabhāvatīsvāmin. It is interesting to note in this connection another reference to the purchase of half of a village and its donation to the Brāhmaṇaṣ by a trader named Chandra in the Indore plates of Pravarasena II.[173] Line 14, as pointed out earlier, probably speaks of the construction of a temple (perhaps Prabhāvatīsvāmin) for his mother by Pravarasena II. The concluding line contains nothing of hisiorical value and seems to refer the fame or eulogy (*kīrti*) lasting as the world exists and the execution of the work or composition of this inscription at the behest, evidently of the king.

We have tried to give above a gist of what we feel to be the contents of the preserved portion of this record. However, in view of its pitiable state, all the above reconstruction is in the nature of guess-work and no finality attaches to it.

BIDAR PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II, YEAR 5

The original copper-plates bearing this record together with the ring which held them in position as well as the seal sliding on it are not traceable. But the original, reportedly brought by some villager whose whereabouts are not known, is said to have been seen by a skilled artist at Bidar in Karnataka who prepared its exact replica on iron plates of the same size and thickness with holes for the ring as well as the seal (diameier $1\frac{3}{4}$"). The reproduction is so faithful that it looks just like a xerox copy of present-day paper documents, and there is absolutely no reason to doubt its genuineness. Even otherwise we know of no other complete

copper-plate charter of Devasena so that there can be no question of anyone venturing a counterfeit. The Bidar artist sold this duplicate set to the Birla Archaeological and Cultural Research Institute, Hyderabad, where it is presently deposited. Its discovery was annonnced and a general idea of its contents given by Dr. P.V. Parabrahma Sastry, formerly Deputy Director (Epigraphy), Department of Archaeology, Government of Andhra Pradesh, at the twelfth annual conference of the Epigraphical Society of India held at Jabalpur on February 27-28 and March 1, 1986.

The inscription, though couched in Sanskrit, reveals a great deal of Prākṛitism both in the genealogical and grant portions and thereby marks, linguistically speaking, an important hitherto missing transitional stage between the Wasim plates of Vindhyaśakti II and the Thāḷner plates of Harisheṇa. It commences with the invocation *siddham namaḥ*, the second component of this formula being rather uncommon in so far as the Vākāṭaka epigraphy is concerned. The grant was issued from Vatsagulma (modern Wasim. Akola District), the capital of the branch of Vākāṭakas to which the issuer belonged. Next we find the genealogical account which begins with Vindhyaśakti who is described as the first (*ādi*) *Dharmma-mahārāja* of the Vākāṭakas. This description is similar to that found in the above-mentioned Thāḷner plates and obviously forms the basis of the latter. His son Pravarasena I is described in the same manner as in the Wasim and Thāḷner plates including the application of the title *Hāritī-putra Dharmma-mahārāja*. Next are mentioned his son Sarvvasena and Vindhyasena, Pravarasena (II) and Sarvvasena (II), each succeeding monarch being the son of the preceding one. All these chiefs are given the regal title *Mahārāja*, while the more dignified title *Dharm-mahārāja* is reserved only for Vindhyaśakti I, Pravarasena I and Devasena, the issuer of the charter in question. The last named monarch is described, rather strangely, as the great-grandson of the son of Pravarasena's son, great-grandson of Sarvvasena's son, grandson of Vindhyasena's son, grandson of Pravarasena and son of Sarvvasena and is styled *Dharmma-mahārāja*. This description is met with in a summarised form in his son's Thāḷner plates. The object of this inscription is to record Devasena's grant of the village Velpakoṇḍā in favour of one Raddochcha, a scholar of the four Vedas (*chātuvejja=Chāturvidya*), for the purpose of sacrificial offering (*chrau*). The administrative division in which the village was situated is left unnamed, but the boundaries of the donated village are indicated by mentioning bordering villages. It lay to the west of Pasāpalakalla, north of Yirimandāpaka, south of Doṇiṇṭhama, and east of Kuriikalla. The grant, which was accompanied by the usual exemptions, was executed by Sāmilladeva, who is evidently identical with Svāmilladeva known from the Hisse Borala inscription of the reign of Devasena himself and the Thāḷner plates of Harisheṇa. It was written by a certain Vammasvāmin's son whose name began with *ya*.[174] The record ends with date which is specified with reference to the issuer's reign and the season. The figure for

the year has no parallel in Vākāṭaka inscriptions, but is very much like the figure in the last line of the Malhārā plates of Ādityarāja which has been taken as 5.[175] Accordingly, the regnal year should be read as 5. There is no doubt about the reading of the figures for the fortnight and the day which are clearly 8 and 1 respectively. The grant was thus issued on the first day of the eighth fortnight in the fifth year of Devasena's reign.

The record is important in more than one respect. First of all, this is so far the only complete copper-plate charter of Devasena, his only other known charter, *viz.*, India Office grant, being represented only by a single plate. The Hisse Boralā inscription of his time, though set up by one of his officials, cannot be regarded as an official record. Thus, this is not only his only known complete copper-plate grant, but also his only official record. Secondly, this provides an important missing link for tracing the evolution of the draft of the copper-plate charters of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭakas. Its draft marks a complete departure from the earlier Wasim grant in the manner of specifying the genealogy which is given in a rather novel style, even though all the rulers up to the donor are named the relationship of Pravarasena I and other members of the family is indicated in a strange and unusual manner. This style was followed in the Thāḷner plates of his son, but with the omission of a large number of names. Thirdly, we learn from this record that the title *Dharmma-mahārāja* was applied only to three members of the family, *viz.*, Vindhyaśakti. Pravarasena I and Devasena, and the title *Hāritī-putra* only to the last two. Other rulers are given only the title *Mahāraja*. It is interesting to note in this connection that these two titles are not used for Devasena in the only known copper-plate charter (*i.e.*, Thāḷner plates) of his son Harisheṇa who, too, is mentioned without these titles. Fourthly, the date of this record, which is given with reference to season following the earlier practice, is in keeping with the custom noticed in other two known complete copper-plate grants of this branch which appears, for some reason, to have preferred this tradition. Fifthly, the date would give us the only known year of Devasena and show that he ruled for at least five years, an information not so very important historically, for no historian of the Vākāṭakas ever proposed to allot him such a short reign.

Last but note least, the provenance of the charter, if reported correctly, is of utmost significance for historical purposes. If the plates originally belonged to the Bidar region, they would indicate an extension of the dominions of the Vatsagulma branch into northern Karnataka. The place-names, particularly the name of the donated village, also seem to strengthen this surmise, for *koṇḍa*-ending place-names are common in Andhra-Karnataka region. At first sight this conjecture may look somewhat startling; but in reality there is nothing impossible about it. For we know that the Nanded (mentioned as Nāndīkaḍa in the Wasim plates) was already included in its territory as early as the time of Vindhyaśakti II (Vindhyasena of our

record), and some of the finest paintings at Ajantā in the Aurangabad District were executed during Harisheṇa's reign. A little more southerly expansion so as to reach the Bidar region is well within the bounds of probability. We may, therefore, hazard the conjecture, cautiously of course, that the territorial possessions of this branch of the dynasty during the regin of Devasena included some area in the proximity of Bidar. Unfortunately, we find no mention of the administrative division of which the villages named in our record formed part. That would have gone a long way in settling the matter once for all. While the extension of the authority of this branch of the Vākāṭakas during Devasena's rule may be regarded as pretty certain, it is difficult to say at the moment if this expansion took place during the reign of Devesena himself or earlier. This question can be settled only when more evidences come to light.

Notes and References

1. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, v. : *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas*, Ootacamund, 1963.
2. Barring the Bamhani plates (*ibid.*, pp. 82-88) of the Pāṇḍava king Śūrabala *alias* Udirṇavaira (owing to the inadvertent dropping of a prose passage introducing Śūrabala, the inscription was earlier assigned to his father Bharatabala) which have nothing to do with the Vākāṭakas, Mirashi's *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas* included twenty-six Vākāṭaka records. In these pages we are noticing eleven inscriptions discovered after its publication.
3. A detailed supplement is under preparation but will take some time.
4. Hisse-Borala inscription of Devasena which is engraved on a block of stone.
5. It need hardly be added that all these inscriptions are incised in characters belonging to the box-headed variety of southern alphabets and composed in Sanskrit. Like already known Vākāṭaka copper-plate grants, the copper-plate inscriptions noticed here are also multi-plate characters. As the object of the present contribution is of a limited nature, technical details like the number and size of plates, the diameter of the ring, hole for the passage of the ring and the seal are deliverately dropped.
6. Two neighbouring villages with identical names are known to have been sometimes styled 'large' and 'small' as at present. But no such suffix or prefix is noticed in this case.
7. Most of the donated as well as the bordering villages have not been identified so far. However, two of the villages, viz., Aragrāma and Selludraha, may be identified with Aregaon in the Nagpur Tahsil of the district of the same name and Seldoh in the adjoining Wardha Tahsil of the Wardha District.
8. One of the incomplete Vākāṭaka copper-plate grants is known to have been issued from a certain Padmapura (V.V. Mirashi, *op. cit.*, p. 78) which Mirashi proposes to identify with modern Padampur near Amgaon in the Bhandara District. However, this identification has been disputed by others, and nothing definite can be said about it at present. However, as will be shown in the sequel, this Padampur has nothing to do with the district named after Padmapura mentioned in our inscription.
9. In the original we have Vātsagulmakasya *Sātvata-charaṇādhivāsadvayasya* which would literally mean that the two monasteries were situated at Vatsagulma itself. But since the grantor belonged to the Nandivardhana branch, Vatsagulma was the capital of another branch of the

dynasty which started ruling independently after Pravarasena I and the temple of Mondasvāmin, at whose instance the grant is reported to have been made, appears to have been situated near Māṇḍhal, these two monasteries were also probably situated in the same region. In view of this fact the expression *Vātsagulmakasya* seems to be intended as an adjective of *Sātvata-charaṇa*, and not of *Sātvatacharan-ādhivāsadvayasya*, used in the sense of one originally belonging to and hailing from Vatsagulma. Examples of such *sāpekshasamāsas* are often met with in Indian epigraphy. However, if the expression is taken in its apparent sense, we shall have to believe that the grant was made in favour of the monasteries situated at Vatsagulma. The phrase beginning with the word *Sātvata* may also refer to two temples of Sātvata, *viz.*, Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa, with his foot-prints installed in them at Vatsagulma. However, the first interpretation appears preferable.

10. *Chāturvvedy-āgrahāra-maryyādā-parihārān* in the original meaning 'exemptions of the *agrahāras* of (the *Brāhmaṇas*) learned in the four Vedas.' These exemptions are enumerated as in other Vākāṭaka grants.
11. This is obviously the description of a four-armed image, and the fourth hand did not carry any object as it must have supported the head in a lying posture.
12. The description is obviously of the Śeshaśāyin form of Vishṇu. The name of the snake-king (*nāga-rāja*) looks like Nanna, but we have taken the second letter as *nta* as there is often confusion between the letters *t* and *n* and taking *nāgarājñonantasya* together, we have of split up into *nagarajñaḥ Anantasya*. It is quite possible, however, that the intended reading was actually *nagarajño Nannasya* as it is found. But it would also not make any difference in the meaning as Ananta is known to have been transformed into Nanna as in Nanna-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭāraka who figures as the donee of the Khalimpur plate of the Pāla king Dharmapāla. See *EI*, iv, p. 250, text-line 50 and p. 254, note 3. This would show that the name Ananta had been corrupted into Nanna as early as early fifth century A.D.
13. Literally 'an order from his own mouth' (*sva-mukh-ajñaptiḥ*).
14. V.V. Mirashi, *CII*, v, pp. 1-4. Mirashi is inclined to assign it to Rudrasena I.
15. As will be seen in the sequel, most of the records noticed in these pages contain season dates. In view of the evidence that has come to light during recent years, the so-called rarity of season dates in the Vākāṭaka and contemporary records cannot be taken to indicate an early date for inscriptions containing season dates. For the use of season dates as a criterion of date, see *JESI*, v. p. 2; and for its criticism, see *ibid.*, iv, p. 34.
16. Barring a few minor variations in phraseology, the draft generally agrees with the charters of his son Pravarasena II. The genealogy up to the reign of Rudrasena II is also the same.
17. See my paper in the *Vidarbha Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala Vārshika*, 1977, pp. 142 ff.
18. The wording in our record is *bhagavataś = chakkra-lakshma-pratishṭhitaśāsanasya*, while other inscriptions generally have *bhagavataś = chakra-pāṇeḥ prasād-opārjjita-śrisamudayasya*, the latter being grammatically more acceptable.
19. For the Deogarh and Bhitargaon panels, see J.N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, second edition, Calcutta, 1956, pp. 406-407. In the Deogarh panel we find Chakra-purusha standing behind Lakshmī, and a few of what are taken to be attendants, it has been suggested, may represent personified *āyudhas*.
20. *Vidarbha Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala Vārshika*, 1971, p. 76, text-lines 27-28 and 33-34. *Mārga* (and *pathaka*) as an administrative unit is referred to in other Vākāṭaka records also.
21. *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, x, p. 113, text-line 19.
22. See also under Māsod plates in the sequel.
23. These charters are now desposited in the archaeological museum of the the Department of the Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Nagpur University.
24. We learn from the Māṇḍhal plates of the second year of Pṛithivīsheṇa II, which will be noticed

in the sequel, that his real name was Droṇasvāmin. It is difficult to determine as to why his real name is dropped and he is simply mentioned as *apratigrāhaka* which may have been his title.

25. *CII*, v, p. 12, text-line 1.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 18, text-line 1.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 23, text-line 1.
28. For similar other examples, vide D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, Delhi, 1965, pp. 114 ff.
29. Another administrative unit connected with the Wainganga during the Vākāṭaka period was Veṇṇākārpara-*bhoga* which is mentioned in the Siwani plates of Pravarasena II (*ibid.*, p. 30. text-lines 17-18). Varāhamihira refers to Veṅāṭaṭa (*Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, iv. 26) or the Wainganga region as a source of diamonds (*ibid.*, lxxix. 6). See Ajay Mithra Shashtri, *India as seen in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira*, Delhi, 1969, pp. 63, 325. But there the reference is to the region or the banks of the Wainganga and not to an admistrative region named after the river.
30. Text-line 19. But in text-line 29 the land is said to have been situated on the west of the village.
31. The mention of royal or standard measurement would reveal that in ancient India different measurements were in vogue in different regions during the same period. Ancient texts inform us that two standards of measurement, to wit, Māgadha and Kālinga, commanded great popularity in early times. *Vide* Ajay Mitra Shastri, *India as seen in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira*, Delhi. 1969, pp. 341-342. *Rāja-manā* is mentioned in some other records of Pravarasena II also. See *CII*, v. p. 55, text-line 20 (Waḍgaon pls.); p. 60, text-lines 21-22 (Paṭṭaṇ pls; the expression here is *rājakya-māna* which is apparently an error for *rājakīya-māna*). The word *rāja-mānika* itself occurs in the Chammak grant (*ibid.*, p. 24, text-line 18).
32. It may also mean a piece of land for garden or orchard.
33. These are Boppāryya, Vishṇvāryya, Aratyāryya, Bhavāryya, Bhavaputrāryya, Golāryya, Śryāryya, Nārāyaṇāryya, Achalāryya, Devāryya, Keśavāryya, Kumāryya, Koṭṭāryya and Rudrāryya. The names Boppāryya, Golāryya and Dāmāryya repeat themselves twice, thrice and twice respectively.
34. For a couple of other season dates of Pravarasena II's reign, see *ibid.*, p. 46, text-lines 28 (Dūdiā pls.), p. 66, text-lines 27-28 (Paṇḍhurṇā grant). The unpublished Yawatmāl plates (see below) of the same reign also contain season date.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 37, text-lines 30-31.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 61, text-line 44.
37. The Siwani (*ibid.*, p. 31, text-line 35) and Waḍgaon (*ibid.*, p. 56, text-line 42) plates of the eighteenth and twenty-fifth years respectively of Pravarasena II have the same *Senāpati*, to wit, Bāppadeva, while in between these two dates we have another *Senāpati* named Namidāsa (Dūdiā plates, *ibid.*, p. 46, text-lines 28-29). However, the possibility of different personages bearing the same name holding the office in question at different dates cannot be ruled out.
38. These plates have been recently edited by me in collaboration with Dr. Chandrashekhar Gupta. See *JESI*, x, pp. 108-116.
39. Note the use of dual number in *vikrāntayoḥ* and *narendrayoḥ*.
40. *CII*, v, p. 36, text-line 10.
41. *CII*, v. pp. ix, 24 and 35. For a different view, see *ibid.*, p. vii.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. ix and 35.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.
44. The Śarabhapurīyas, Pāṇḍuvaṁśins and Somavaṁśins had different personal and coronation names.
45. The contents of this record have not been summarised here as they are already well known.
46. *EI*, xxiv, pp. 52 ff; *CII*, v, pp. 38 ff.

47. For its text, see V.V. Mirashi, *Indological Research Papers*, i, Nagpur, 1982, p. 72.
48. It is generally taken to indicate the authorisation of the grant recorded in the charter by competent authorities and is found at the beginning of most of the complete Vākāṭaka copper-plate inscriptions.
49. V.V. Mirashi, *Indological Research Papers*, i, p. 72, text-line 1.
50. For a detailed account of the history of this town, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Tripurī* (Hindi), Bhopal, 1971.
51. V.V. Mirashi, *Indological Research Papers*, i, p. 69.
52. J.F. Fleet, *Inscriptions of the Guptas and their Successors*, *CII*, iii, pp. 53-54.
53. *ABORI*, i, p. 103.
54. D.R. Bhandarkar, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings*, *CII*, iii (ed. B. Ch. Chhabra and G.S. Gai), New Delhi, 1981, p. 315; B. Ch. Chhabra in *Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume* (ed. G.T. Deshpande, Ajay Mitra Shastri and V.W. Karambelkar), Nagpur, 1965, p. 367.
55. V.V. Mirashi, *Indological Research Papers*, i, p. 70.
56. Fleet, *CII*, iii, pp. 233 f; v, pp. 89-91.
57. *EI*, xvii, pp. 12 ff; *CII*, v, p. 92.
58. V.V. Mirashi, *Indological Research Papers*, i, p. 71.
59. Like *vāsa*, *vāsaka* also connotes an abode, dwelling or habitation. See Monier Monier—Williams, *A Sanskrit English Dictionary*, s.v. *vāsaka*, p. 947. But in inscriptions, when mentioned as the place of issue of a charter, it is generally used in the sense of a temporary residence.
60. *CII*, v, p. 54, text-line 1.
61. *Cf.* the Nasik inscription of the eighteenth regnal year of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, i, p. 198, text-line 1), which is in the nature of a copper-plate charter, was issued from the *vijaya-khadhāvāra* (*vijaya-skandhāvāra*) at Govardhana.
62. For references, see my *Tripuri*, pp. 167-168.
63. It is found in all the known copper-plate inscriptions of the reign of Pṛithīvisheṇa II.
64. Fleet, *CII*, iii, pp. 118-119 and 122-123.
65. This is indicated by Harivarman's Shankarpur inscription dated in Gupta year 168. See *JESI*, iv, p. 64.
66. *Cf.* the name Vindhyaśakti of the founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty and the name Vindhyaka employed for the dynasty in the dynastic texts of the Purāṇas. In our opinion the Vākāṭakas rose to power in the Vindhyan region of Central India and later migrated to the Vidarbha region. We have discussed this question at length elsewhere. See *Bhāratī*, New Series, no. 2, pp. 97-105.
67. It must have been given in the opening line on the inner side of the first plate. We must remember, however, that this item is omitted in some of the Vākāṭaka copper-plate charters. This first known grant of the Nandivardhana branch of the dynasty (Māṇḍhal plates of Rudrasena II), for example, does not mention the issuing place.
68. This initial portion describing Pravarasena I and the Bhāraśivas was evidently given on the inner side of the first plate.
69. These formed the content of the missing intervening plate/plates.
70. While Lāṭakapallī appears to be identical with modern Lāḍkheḍ, some twenty miles east of Darwha on the Darwhā-Yawatmāl road in the Yavatmāl District, Shaḍgriśaka has not been identified. It is not impossible that this was an administrative division comprising six units/villages.
71. The Kurud plates of the Śarabhapura king Narendra register the renewal of a grant originally recorded on palm-leaves (*tāla-patra-śāsana*). See *EI*, xxxi p. 265, text-lines 7-9.
72. The well-known Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman were intended to replace the original copper-plate grant which was destroyed by fire.

73. The King's command regarding the grant recorded in the Paṭṭan plates of Pravarasena II is also addressed to the village, but there it is described as headed by the Brāhmaṇas. See *CII*, v, p. 60, text-line 21.
74. We have *savva* for *saṁvat* and *gi* for *grī* which is an abbreviation of *grīshma*.
75. This feature is noticed in the Māṇḍhal plates of Pṛthivīsheṇa II (*Vidarbha Saṁśodhana Maṇḍaḷa Vārshika*, 1977, pp. 166 and 174, as well as the Malhārā plates of the Muṇḍaputra chief Ādityarāja belonging to the post-Vākāṭaka period (*JESI*, iv, p. 39, text-line 50).
76. His Jamb plates were given in the second year (*CII*, v, pp. 12-13) while the Pauni grant was issued in the thirty-second year (*EI*, xxxviii, pp. 53-56.)
77. *CII*, v, p. 31 text-line 35.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 56, text-line 54.
79. These plates have been edited by me and Dr. C.S. Gupta in *VIJ*, xxi, pp. 78-84.
80. The ring is now lost, while the inscription on the seal is the same as found on several seals attached to Pravarasena II's charters.
81. V.B. Kolte erroneously takes Bahvricha as forming part of the name of the *gotra* (*EI*, xxxvii, p. 54). For the meaning of this word, see Monier-Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 726.
82. Achalapuka engraved in the original appears to be an error for Achalapura, caused by the addition of an unnecessary cross-bar to the vertical of the letter *ra*. Such errors are noticed elsewhere in the record also. See text-line 30 where *parihāra* has been incised as *pakihāka*.
83. *CII*, v, pp. 63-68.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 67, text-line 54.
85. *EI*, xxxviii, pp. 53-56.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
87. Another Achalapura (called an *agranāra*) is referred to in the Nāgardhan plates of Svāmirāja (V.V. Mirashi *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri Chedi Era*, CII, iv, p. 616, text-line 16). Some of the localities mentioned in this record have been identified in the proximity of its provenance, and Achalapura, too, must have been situated nearby. This Achalapura may have been the same as the homonymous town mentioned in our record.
88. The first component of the name of the *Kaṭaka*, *Kṛishṇā*, may also refer to the river Kanhan, and the name may connote the Kanhan valley which is even now well known for its paddy cultivation.
89. *EI*, ix, pp. 267ff; *CII*, v, pp. 79 ff.
90. *Vidarbha Saṁśodhana Maṇḍaḷa Vārshika*, 1971, pp. 53 ff; *ABORI*, liii, pp. 183 ff.
91. It was obviously to form part of the concluding portion which has not been engraved.
92. The Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatīguptā were from the foot prints of Rāmgirisvāmin. But there is no reference to Rāmagiri or Rāmagiristhāna as such in any other record.
93. *CII*, v, p. 35, text-line 1.
94. In all other records her name is given as Ajjhitabhaṭṭārikā. She is not named in connection with the description of her son as in other grants. It is known from other charters that she was the daughter of king of Kuntala, evidently of the Kadamba family.
95. Such addresses are rather rare in Vākāṭaka grants.
96. In the original we have *Ishṭākapalyāttarataḥ* which may be corrected either as *Ishṭākapallyā uttarataḥ* or *Ishṭākapasyottarataḥ*, the former being more likely.
97. The granted village, Kurubhajjaka, is identifiable with modern Kurjjhā, and Lavaṇatailaka with modern Loṇārā. It is noteworthy that Kurjjhā is, in keeping with the specification in the inscription, actually situated to the west of Loṇārā. Ishṭākapa or Ishṭākapplī can be equated with modern Iṭgaon which is, as stated in the record, situated to the south of Kurjjhā. Not

only does this identification agree with the locational directions, but finds support from the sameness of the meanings of the ancient and modern names. Goshī Khurd and Goshī Budruk to the north of Kurjjhā seem to represent the ancient village of Govvasāhikā. A little distance to the east of Goshī Budruk there is a village named Bāserā. Ancient Govvasāhikā probably comprised all the area now covered by these three villages. When this ancient village was divided into these two villages Goshī (khurd and budruk) and Bāserā, the first part of the ancient name was transformed into Goshī and the second into Bāserā. Geographically also this equation is in conformity with the description in the inscription. In view of the close agreement between the directional specifications as given in the inscription and the location of the modern villages proposed to be equated with the ancient villages in question, there can be absolutely no doubt about the correctness of the suggested identifications.

98. *Jaya-śāsana* in the original can also be rendered as a 'charter of victory', and it is actually described as a kind of royal decree in the Dharmaśāstras. But our charter does not tally with its definition.
99. An uninscribed plate was also found strung on the ring along with the inscribed plates.
100. *Sthāna* also indicates sanctity and the expression in question may refer to a spot of religious significance on the bank of the river Wainganga which was regarded as sacred. But the other sense, viz., administrative headquarters, looks more probable here.
101. Maheśvarasvāmin is styled *Kautsa-sagotra* and, thereafter, Brahmasvāmin, and Harasvāmin, *tat-sagotra*, whereas no such expression is employed for Varāhasvāmin.
102. As will be seen below, the phrase *pratāpa-praṇat-āri-śāsanasya* is found applied for the first time to Narendrasena in the Māhurjharī plates of the seventeenth year of Pṛithivīsheṇa II and the word *dvī* was prefixed to the expression *magnavaṁś-oddharttuḥ* describing Pṛithivīsheṇa II for the first time in the Bālaghāt plates.
103. Māṇḍhaḷ (10th year), Māhurjharī and Bālāghāt plates.
104. *EI*, ix, p. 271, text-lines 26-27 and note 6, See also p. 269, note 2.
105. *CII*, v, p. 81, text-lines 26-27.
106. *ABORI*, liii, p. 193, text-lines 21-22.
107. I, too, had adopted this reading at one stage. See *Vidarbha Saṁśodhana Maṇḍaḷa Vārshika*, 1977, p. 171, text-line 17.
108. This is a literal rendering of *guṇa-viśvāsād* which, as will be seen in the sequel, is non-existent.
109. *EI*, ix, p. 269.
110. *CII*, v, p. 81.
111. *EI*, ix, p. 269.
112. *CII*, v, introduction, p. xxv.
113. G. Yazdani (ed.), *The Early History of the Deccan*, Parts I-IV, p. 182.
114. *Ibid.*, pp. 182-83.
115. *Vidarbha Saṁśodhana Maṇḍla Vārshika*, 1971, pp. 61-64; *ABORI*, liii, pp. 186-87.
116. *Vidarbha Saṁśodhana Maṇḍaḷa Vārshika*, 1971, pl. vi; *ABROI*, liii, third plate, first side (between pp. 194 and 195), lines 21022.
117. The phrase can also be split in some other ways, particularly mentionable ones being *pūrvv-ādhigatā guṇavato dāyādād=apahṛitā vaṁśa-śrīḥ yena tasya, pūrvv-adhigatād=guṇavato dāyādād=apahṛitā vaṁśa-śrīḥ yena tasya*, or *pūrvv-ādhigatena guṇavatā dāyādena apahṛitā vaṁśa-śrīḥ yasya tasya*. But they do not yield any satisfactory meaning.
118. For the meaning of *dāyāda*, see *Amara-kosha* Nirnaya-Sagar Press, Bombay, 1944), iii, 3, 89; Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 474, s.v. *dāyāda*. Also vide P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, iii (Poona, 1946), pp. 543-44.

119. The employment of the expression *gunavat* as an adjective of the *dāyāda* who was a source of calamity to Narendrasena is somewhat enigmatic. The intention may have been to aver that the *dāyāda*, though endowed with good qualities, indulged in a nefarious act like seizing his relative's (Narendrasena's) throne. Alternatively, it may have been used in the sense of *gauṇa*, a derivative from *guṇa*, with reference to a scoin of the Vatsagulma branch of the family. The latter interpretation looks more probable.
120. *EI*. xxvii, pp. 137-138; *CII*, v, pp. 83-84. This assumption has for its basis the word *narendra* occuring in the 11th verse of this charter which was taken as alluding, though in veiled manner, to Narendrasena. But we now know from the Mallār grant of Śūrabala *alias* Udīrṇavaira (*Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, iii, pp. 183-193) that the Bamhanī charter also belongs to him and that the word *narendra* is employed in its common sense of 'king', there being no pun on it. The erroneous impression that the Bahmanī plates were given by Bharatabala was due to the inadvertent omission of a prose passage introducing Śūrabala after the description of Bharatabala. This passage is now supplied by the Mallār plates.
121. *Bhāratī-Bhānam*, (Dr. K.V. Sarma Felicitation Volume), Hoshiarpur, 1980, pp. 439-443.
122. The continued friendship between the Vākāṭakas and the Guptas seems to be vouched for by the retention of reference to the marriage of Prabhāvatīguptā to Rudrasena II even in the latest records of the Nandivardhana branch.
123. The expression in this record is somewhat corrupt.
124. *ABORI*, liii, p. 193, text-line 26.
125. *EI*, ix, p. 271, text-line 33.
126. *Ibid.*, p. 271, fn. 15. Kielhorn was, however, not quite sure about it as would follow from the fact that he puts an interrogation mark after *ni*.
127. *CII*, v, p. 81, fn. 7. He removes the question mark.
128. It must be said to the credit of Altekar that he accepted the reading *dvi* as correct. See G. Yazdani (ed.) *The Early History of the Deccan*, Parts I-IV, p. 184. He however, took these two misfortunes to have been due to the Śarabhapurīya and Traikūṭaka invasions. This surmise lacks supporting evidence. Also see D.C. Sircar in *the Classical Age* (ed. R.C. Majumdar), p. 184.
129. The Riddhapur charter of the Nala chief Bhavadattavarman was given from Nandivardhana, the erstwhile Vākāṭaka capital. See, *EI*, xix, pp. 100 ff.
130. *Vidarbha Saṁśodhana Maṇḍla Vārshika*, 1971, pp. 53ff; *ABROI*, liii, pp. 183-194.
131. In a couple of records we find *vāji* prefixed to or forming part of the names of donees' *gotras*. *Vide CII*, v, p. 55, text-line 21; p. 66, text-lines 24-25 and 28. However, we cannot be quite sure if it really refers to the Vājasaneyi *śākhā*, though it is not impossible.
132. Orthographic errors have been ignored.
133. Kolte reads *Surambī-rajya* which is evidently incorrect as will follow from a glance at the facsimile accompayning his papers.
134. *CII*, v, p. 45, text-line 13.
135. *Ibid.*, p. 66, text-lines 26 and 29.
136. For a different view on this question, see Hira Lal, *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, second edition, Nagpur, 1932, p. 93, no. 168. Our view is comparatively close to Mirashi's, but he proposes to identify Ārammi, the headquarters of this *rājya*, with Amla which is unlikely. See *CII*, v, p. 44.
137. It is difficult to ascertain if the chief responsible for it was the first or second king of this name. But in all likelihood it was Pṛithivīsheṇa II. Had his illustrious homonymous predecessor done so, there would have been greater chances of the continuation of the new names given by him.
138. For excavations of some of these circles, see S.B. Deo, *Mahurjhari Excavation*, Nagpur, 1973.

139. *EI*, xxxvii, pp. 1-4.
140. *Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume* (ed. G.T. Deshpande and Ajay Mitra Shastri), Nagpur, 1965, pp. 372-384; *Vidarbha Saṁśodhana Maṇḍaḷa Vārshika*, 1964, pp. 137-156.
141. *EI*, xxxvii, pp. 5-8.
142. *Umesha Mishra Commemoration Volume*, Allahabad, 1970, pp. 617-627.
143. *JESI*, vii. pp. 2-5. See also D.C. Sircar and J.E. Mitchiner in *JAIH*, i, pp. 94-98, and *Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, August, 1978, pp. 6-7.

143a. Some scholars find in the inscription an allusian to the year 220 of a reckoning counted from the termination of the Andhra rule (*ibid.*) or the commencement of the Vākāṭaka rule (*JESI*, vii, pp. 2-5).

144. A parallel, if one be needed, is furnished by the Tummalagudem plates of the Vishnukuṇḍi king Vikramendravarman II which alone of the fairly numerous epigraphs of the dynasty are dated in the Śaka era.
145. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1950-51, No. B 36, as cited in K.V. Ramesh, *Indian Epigraphy*, i, Delhi, 1984, p. 80. (*Śaka-varshe dvātriṁśaty-adhike śata-traye vrajati Śaka-narānāthānām*). However, in the *Report* (p. 13) itself the record is said to have been found at Vala in Saurāshtra and to refer to Suketuvarman as *Dharmamahārāja*. On palaeographical grounds it is dated to about the sixth century A.D.
146. *EI*, xxvii, pp. 4-9; D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, second ed., Calcutta, 1965, p. 482.
147. *Saṁśodhaka* (Marathi Journal of the Rājavāḍe Saṁśodhana Maṇḍaḷa), xlvii (1980), nos. 1-2.
148. *Indological Research Papers*, i, Nagpur, 1982, pp. 78-87.
149. This was obviously an administrative unit.
150. In the original we have *viṁśati arddhaviṁśati* which gives no sense. It seems that as in other subsequent cases *arddhaviṁśatiḥ* was expected; but by oversight the scribe first wrote *viṁśati* and then the intended word, *arddhaviṁśati*, but, again by oversight, forgot to cancel *viṁśati*. *Arddhaviṁśati* is an error for *sārddhaviṁśati*.
151. Though not named, this was a common measurement prevalent under the Vākātakas.
152. Mirashi takes the expression *arddha-viṁśati* to mean 'half of twenty' *Indological Research Papers*, i, p. 80), i.e., 10. But in that case he would have used *daśa* or *viṁśatyarddha*. As stated above, the intended reading probably is *sārddhaviṁśati*. Mirashi also feels likewise, but, according to him, it would mean 30 (*ibid.*, p. 80, f.n. 5), which does not appear to be correct.
153. With the solitary exception of the India Office Plate of Devasena which straightway mentions the issuing chief (Devasena) without referring to any of his predecessors. See *CII*, v, p. 102.
154. *CII*, v, p. 107, verse 2.
155. In the original we have *Vākāṭakānām=ādi-dharmmamahārāja-śri-Viddhya-śakteḥ* which Mirashi proposes to restore as *Vākāṭakānām-ādir=dharmmamahārāja-śrī-Vinddhyaśakteh*. We feel that the initial portion should be restored as *Vākāṭakānām=āder* (instead of *Vākātakānām=adlr*) which would go well with *Vindhyaśakteḥ* which it qualifies. Alternatively, even *ādi* without any case-ending will also serve the purpose.
156. *CII*, v, p. 96.
157. *Numismatic Digest*, i (i) pp. 25-28; iii (i), pp. 7-9.
158. *JESI*, iv, p. 38, text-line 31. Also see p. 37.
159. For its connotation, see D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, pp. 103-104, s.v. *dūtaka*.
160. *Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume*, p. 384, text-line 2.
161. For discussion of a few points concerning this record, see my paper in *JESI*, xi, pp.

6

NEW LIGHT ON THE REIGN OF YĀDAVA SIṄGHAṆA*

Four long inscriptions engraved on lithic slabs originally fixed into the walls of four different temples at Āmbe or Āmbe Jogāi, a site with great archaeological potential and a well-known pilgrimage centre in the Bhir District of Maharashtra, have been known for almost a century. All these records belong to the reign of Siṁha or Siṅghaṇa, the most powerful member of the Yādava dynasty of Devagiri (modern Daulatabad, Aurangabad District). One of these inscriptions is seriously damaged and practically lost for historical purposes. Of the remaining epigraphs, two were published without facsimiles in an obscure Marathi publication, while the last one was edited by George Bühler with a photozincograph and an English translation. Unfortunately, however, all these publications were full of numerous errors, and their historical value could not therefore be fully appreciated. The present author carefully examined the impressions and re-edited these inscriptions. They throw a flood of light on the lives and activities of Siṅghaṇa, his feudatory and general Kholeśvara (also called Kholanāyaka, Kholeśa and Kholladeva) and the latter's son Rāma and daughter Lakshmī. As the data supplied by these records are of great value for the dynastic history of the Deccan, South and Central India during the thirteenth century AD, their historical contents are highlighted here.

Āmbe, also known as Āmbe Jogāi's Āmbe, in the Mominabad Taluk of the Bhir District in the Marathwada Division of the Maharashtra State, is a place of great antiquarian interest. It was a seat of provincial government under the Yādavas of Devagiri and a famous centre of the Mother Goddess (Yogeśvarī) cult and was variously called Āmbā or Āmbe, Āmrapura or Āmrapurī. It is littered with many a remain of historical interest scattered in and around it, and its glory and importance in the past are indicated, among other things, by the inscriptions, engraved on a stone slab built up in the wall of a little shrine to the south of the Mother-in-law's tank on the Māyāmochana Tīrtha situated to the west of the temple of Jogeśvarī is irretrievably damaged as the proper right portion of the inscribed slab is broken away and the lower portion of the same is buried underground. The preserved portion comprises twenty-one stanzas in twenty lines which are identical with the corresponding portion of the Yogeśvarī Temple Inscription (No. 3) noticed below. Thus it adds nothing new to the existing historical knowledge, and, the subsequent portion having been lost irrepairably, it is

*JBRS lvi, pp. 153-71.

not possible to ascertain its object either. The second epigraph (hereinafter called the Sakaleśvara Temple Inscription), dated Śaka 1150 (A.D. 1228), is cut into a stone slab now resting against a wall in a garden outside the village. But it must have originally belonged to the Sakaleśvara Temple situated about two miles to the north-west of Āmbe as the inscription aims at registering grants of certain villages, fields and taxes and tolls made over to the temple by Kholeśvara, a powerful feudatory and generalissimo of the Yādava emperor Siṅghaṇa. The upper portion of the slab on the right side having broken away, a few letters in the concluding portion of the first twelve lines are missing[1]. But the loss can be made good with the help of the Yogeśvarī Temple Inscription (No.3). But for the grant portion which is in Marathi prose, the whole record is in mixed Sanskrit prose and verse. It describes in a summary manner some of the more famous conquests of the reigning Yādāva king Siṅghaṇa and gives a lengthy account of the military exploits and other activities of his general Kholeśvara. Particularly interesting from the historian's point of view is a string of laudatory epithets eulogising Kholeśvara. Inscription No. 3 (hereinafter called the Yogeśvarī Temple Inscription), which is undated, is inscribed on a stone slab built into the wall of a structure locally known as Chaubhārā at Āmbe and is almost entirely in Sanskrit verse.[2] It is evidently later than the second inscription as it refers to the Sakaleśvara Temple. Like the previous inscription, it also refers itself to the time of Siṅghaṇa and his feudatory-cum-general Kholeśvara, its object being to record the construction of and the grant of a village to the Yogeśvarī Temple. All the conquests of Siṅghaṇa and most of the military achievements and other activities of Kholeśvara referred to in this inscription are identical with those mentioned in the Sakaleśvara Temple Inscription, many of the stanzas being common to the two records. A noteworthy feature of the present inscription is the long beautiful description of Āmrapura or Āmbe, the provenance of the inscriptions under study and the headquarters of Kholeśvara. The slab bearing the fourth record under study (hereinafter called the Rāmanārayaṇa Temple Inscription) is built up in the wall on the south side of the east porch of a shrine now known as Kholeśvara's Maṭha, which is a misnomer, for, as indicated by the inscription, the structure actually represents the temple of god Rāmanārāyaṇa built by Kholeśvara's daughter Lakshmī to perpetuate the memory of her brother Rāma who had died while fighting against the Vāghelas of Gujarat and on behalf of whose minor son she was looking after the affairs of the government. Dated Śaka 1162 (=A. D. 1240), this record also refers itself to the reign of Siṅghaṇa.[3] Except the concluding portion in Marathi prose giving details about the grants to the newly built temple and the author and the scribe, the whole epigraph is in beautiful Sanskrit verses. It refers to the reigning Yādava emperor Siṁha (Siṅghaṇa) in brief and mentions the more important exploits of Kholeśvara, but the major portion is devoted to the eulogy of the latter's son Rāma. It would appear that all the four records appertain the reign of Siṇghaṇa and present before us three generations of his generals and provincial governors.

with their headquarters at Āmbe : Kholeśvara, his son Rama, and the latter's unnamed minor son for whom his aunt Lakshmī was acting as the regent. These inscriptions furnish a wealth of information about the reign of Siṅghaṇa and their importance for the history of the Yādavas can be hardly overestimated. Of these, the first two inscriptions were brought to light and the text of the second published for the first time by Shri G.H. Khare in the *Dakshiṇachyā Madhyayugīna Itihāsāchī Sādhane*, Part I, pp. 55-68, and the Marathi portion of the second inscription was subsequently re-edited by Drs. Moreshwar G. Dikshit[4] and S.G. Tulpule[5]. The third record was first noticed by James Burgess as early as 1875-76,[6] and Prof. Kielhorn emphasised the need of properly editing it in view of its historical importance. The text of this record with its substance in Marathi was first published by Shri Khare (*ibid.*, pp. 68-76). Being published only in an obsolete Marathi book and that too without facsimiles, these records did not attract the attention of the historians they deserve so well.[7] Moreover, many of the readings of Shri Khare were unintelligible and therefore doubtful, and with the evidence then available it was not possible for him to explain many of the statements contained in them. The fourth inscription was discovered by James Burgess and published with a photozincograph, comments and English rendering by Dr. George Bühler, and this is the only one of the records under study that has been known to and utilised by historians from time to time. But surprisingly enough, Bühler's text also contained many a lacuna and incorrect readings and with the material then available to him he could not properly appreciate its historical import. In view of these facts I re-examined these epigraphs with the help of a set of estampages kindly supplied by my esteemed friend, the late Dr. Moreshwar G. Dikshit, the then Director of Archaeology and Archives, Government of Maharashtra. The present paper aims at stating the results of my study in so far as they concern the Yādava history. It would be seen that most of the historical material contained in these records is discussed in these pages for the first time.

Two stanzas found in the Sakaleśvara and Yogeśvarī Temple Inscriptions (verses 2-3) state that Siṅghaṇa had destroyed the multitude of his enemies and his spotless fame had reached the very ends of the quarters. As for his specific conquests, we are told that he captured in a moment the whole of the extensive kingdom of Arjuna which was very affluent and rich in horses and elephants, and ruined Dhārā, the ornament of the earth, caused the death of Teluṅga, split up the strong Gurjara, reduced Keśi to such a state of helplessness that he began plucking out his hair, made the Hosala (Hoysala) king, together with his retinue, seek shelter in the waters of a pool, drove the Chola to the sea, led Subhaṭa to death in the battlefield, hurled back the Gauḍa in a play as it were and drove away the Turushka to the quarters.

The statement that Siṅghaṇa killed Subhaṭa in the battlefield is interesting

as this exploit is not known from any other source so far. This prince is evidently identical with the Paramāra ruler Subhaṭavarman. It is noteworthy in this connection that according to the Mungeli inscription[8] Siṅghaṇa's father Jaitugi defeated, among others, the king of Mālava who could be none else than Subhaṭavarman. It is probable, therefore, that Siṅghaṇa accompanied his father on his Mālava campaign or that the latter may have put his able son Siṅghaṇa in charge of the Mālava expedition. The claim that Subhaṭavarman met his end at the hands of Siṅghaṇa cannot be verified in the absence of independent evidence.

The defeat of Arjuna at the hands of Siṅghaṇa is referred to in several Yādava records.[9] Fleet identified king Arjuna with Arjunadeva, the Vāghela ruler of Gujarat. The chronological incongruity that Vāghela Arjunadeva came to the throne after the end of Siṅghaṇa's reign was overcome by him by assuming that the former might have held command under his father Vīsaladeva (A.D. 1243-44 to 1261-62) and so have been a contemporary of the latter.[10] R. G. Bhandarkar, on the other hand, regarded him as identical with Arjunavarman, the Paramāra king of Mālava.[11] The correctness of the latter suggestion is proved beyond doubt by the present inscriptions which associate Arjuna with Dhāra, the Paramāra capital which is stated to have been stormed Siṅghaṇa. In the Uddari stone inscription also Siṅghaṇa is described as a lion to curb the haughtiness of the rutting elephant, that is, Arjuna, the king of Mālava[12] That Siṅghaṇa seized the ruler of Dhārā is also stated by Hemādri.[13]

The Sakaleśvara Temple Inscription describes Kholeśvara as a very storm in destroying the forest that was the haughtiness of Devapāla, the powerful king of Dhārā.[14] This Devapāla is undobtedly identical with the Paramāra ruler of that name who succeeded Arjunavarman about A. D. 1217. Obviously the traditional hostility between the ruling powers of Mālava and the Deccan continued in his reign also. With the death of Arjunavarman in *circa* A. D. 1217 the Paramāra power was shattered and all his successors were weaklings. The Yādava forces led by Kholeśvara on this occasion evidently won an easy victory. Siṅghaṇa wrested a part of the Paramāra territory including the Nimad region. This is suggested by the discovery of a hoard of twenty-four coins of Siṅghaṇa in the village Katha of the Harsud Tehsil, East Nimad District, Madhya Pradesh.[15]

The Teluṅga (Āndhra) contemporary of Siṅghaṇa was undoubtedly the Kākatīya king Gaṇapatideva (A. D. 1198-99 to 1261-62). Like our inscriptions, some other Yādava records also style Siṅghaṇa the uprooter of the water-lily that was the head of the Teluṅga king.[16] But Mahādeva also claims the same exploit.[17] It may, therefore, be justly doubted if Siṅghaṇa actually killed the contemporary Kākatīya king whom he had himself released and reinstated on his ancestral throne. It is likely, however, that he participated in the war in which his father Jaitugi had killed Gaṇapti's uncle Rudra[18] or his father Mahādeva[19] In view of

the fact that more than one king lay claim to the same exploit it is equally probable that Siṅghaṇa and Mahādeva inherited this title from Jaitugi.

Siṅghaṇa despatched a number of expeditions against Gujarat and Lāṭa (central and southern Gujarat), and except the last one all of them were crowned with brilliant success. A verse found in the Sakaleśvara[20] and Yogeśvarī[21] Temple Inscriptions states that Kholeśvara had with his fierce sword destroyed the Gurjaras on the other bank of the Mekalasutā (Narmadā) and they were still crying together with the goblins or jackals (*pherava*) who had evidently assembled there in search of flesh. Kholeśvara is further described as the uprooter of the stalk (i. e. neck) of the lotus-head of Gurjara king Sīhaḍi (*Gurjjara-vara-Sihaḍi-Śirah-kamala-mūla-nāl-otpātanakara*, lines 30-31). According to the Yogeśvarī Temple Inscription (verse 36), Kholeśvara, having broken away the Gurjaras and cut off the head of the lord of Bhṛgukachchha, planted a column in the sea. In the Rāmanārāyaṇa Temple Inscription Kholeśvara is described as an eagle in crushing the pride of the snakes that were the Gurjaras. Sīhaḍi, the lord of Bhrigukachchha, is evidently the same as the Chāhamāna chief Siṁha[22] who was ruling over Lāṭa with Broach as his headquarters. According to some scholars, he is probably identical with Sahajapāla as well as with the unnamed king of Lāṭa mentioned in *Vasanta-vilāsa* and the *Kīrti-kaumudi* (IV . 57).[23] Although Siṁha is not mentioned by name in the *Vasanta-vilāsa* and the *Kirti-kaumudi*, the *Hammīra-mada-mardana* informs us that he was a king of Lāṭa. The last-named play further tells us that when the principality of Siṁha was attacked by the Yādava army his Mālava ally (the Paramāra king Devapāla) deserted him and consequently he was forced to seek the help of Vīradhavala, son of Lavaṇaprasāda, the *de facto* ruler of the Chālukya kingdom during the reign of Bhīma II. The *Hammīra-mada-mardana* is reticent about the subsequent fate of Siṁha; but the evidence of our inscriptions outlined above leads us to the conclusion that Vīradhavala probably did not come to the rescue of Siṁha who had proved the untrustworthiness of his friendship by allowing his relation with the neighbouring powers, viz., the Paramāras and the Chālukyas, to be determined by sheer opportunism, and that he lost his life at the hands of the Yādavas. The *Hammīra-mada-mardana* informs us that Siṁha's brother Sindhurāja also breathed his last in the encounter with the Yādavas and that his (Sindhurāja's) son Śaṅkha was taken prisoner.[24] The Yādava armies on this occasion were evidently led by Kholeśvara who, being a resident of Vidarbha, was thoroughly acquainted with the terrain.

Dr. A. K. Majumdar identifies the Yādava adversary of Siṁha with Jaitugi, the father of Siṅghaṇa.[25] But in view of the unequivocal assertion in our records that Sīhaḍi (Siṁha) of Bhrigukachchha was killed by Kholeśvara who was a general of Siṅghaṇa there should be no room for doubt that the expedition against Siṁha was despatched by Siṅghaṇa under the command of Kholeśvara.

Dr. A. S. Altekar was of the view that the defeat and death of Siṁha took place in *circa* A. D. 1222[26] or 1223.[27] But the available evidence simply indicates that the event occurred some time before A. D. 1228, the date of the Sakaleśvara Inscription. This is incomplete agreement with the evidence of the *Hammīra-madamardana*, the only work bearing on this question, which was composed sometime between A.D. 1220 and 1230. How long before it the even occurred cannot be ascertained in the absence of a more precise evidence.

On a subsequent occasion Śaṅkha besought the help of Siṅghaṇa in recovering Cambay which had been forcibly occupied by Vīradhavala, son of Lavaṇaprasāda. Simultaneously, the Paramāra king Devapāla also marched against Gujarat his Chāhamāna feudatory regain Cambay. The Yādava armies crossed the Tapti causing great consternation among the people of Gujarat.[28] Lavaṇaprasāda, minister and *de facto* ruler under Bhīma II, retrieved the situation by a clever strategem which split up the members of the confederacy and entered into an alliance with Siṅghaṇa, as we learn from the *Lekha-paddhati*.[29] Possibly Kholeśvara's victory over Devapāla mentioned in the Sakaleśvara Temple Inscription was an episode connected with this event. If so, on this occasion also the Yādava forces were led by Kholeśvara.

Sometime after A. D. 1228 Kholeśvara died and was succeeded by his son Rāma. We learn from the Rāmanārāyaṇa Temple Inscription that once Siṅghaṇa sent an expedition against the Gurjaras under the leadership of Rāma. Passing through many districts (*vishayas*), he reached the bank of the river Narmadā and fought a severe battle with the Gurjaras. In the initial stages he seems to have achieved some success and wrought great havoc among his enemies; but ultimately he lost his life in the battle. Although nothing is stated about the outcome of the war, it is almost certain that it ended in a tragedy for the Yādavas.

According to Dr. Bühler, the Gujarat campaign undertaken by Rāma probably occurred towards the end of the second or early in the third decade of the thirteenth century A.D. and the Gujarat adversary of Rāma was Rāṇā Vīradhavala, son of Lavaṇaprasāda.[30] This view, however, is not warranted by the available evidence. As pointed out by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar,[31] the fact that Rāma's son was a minor and his (Rāma's) sister Lakshmī was acting as a regent on his behalf at the time when the Rāmanārāyaṇa Temple Inscription was put up shows that the battle in which Rāma breathed his last could not have taken place long prior to A.D. 1240, the date of the record. That the battle was not fought so early as the close of the second or the commencement of the third decade of the thirteenth century A. D., as suggested by Bühler, is also indicated by the fact that as late as A.D. 1228 Rāma's father Kholeśvara was at the height of his power, as we know from his Sakaleśvara Temple Inscription of that year. Likewise the Vāghela chief Vīsaladeva, and not Vīradhavala, was the Gurjara adversary of Rāma, for Vīradhavala died and was succeeded by his son Vīsaladeva as a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* under

the Chālukya king Bhīma II in V. S. 1295 (A.D. 1237).[32] It is interesting to note in this connection that in the Kadi grant, dated A. D. 1261, Visaladeva is described as the submarine fire to dry up the ocean of Siṅghaṇa's army (*Siṅghaṇa-sainya-samudra-saṁśoshaṇa-vaḍavānala*).[33] The Dabhoi inscription also asserts that he fought successfully with the *Dakshiṇeśvara*.[34] It follows from these facts that Rāma's Gujarat compaign took place sometime between A.D. 1237, the date when Visaladeva succeeded his father Vīradhavala as a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, and A.D. 1240, the date of the Rāmanārāyaṇa Inscription. Vīsaladeva must have fought this war on behalf of his nominal Chālukya overlord, Bhīmla II.

King Keśi, who came into conflict with Siṅghaṇa, has not been satisfactorily indentified so far. We think he can be identified with Jayakeśin III, the Kadamba king of Goa, who ruled from A.D. 1167-68 to A.D. 1215 or 1217.[35] In his war with Jayakeśin, Siṅghaṇa was probably helped by his feudatory Chandradeva who is known to have been flourishing in A.D. 1250. The Tasgaon plates of Yādava Kṛishṇa, dated Śaka 1172 (A.D. 1250), represent him as addressing the enemies of his Yādava overlord variously. He addressed Jayakeśin as follows; "Oh Lord, if you are Jayakeśin, the king of the sea, then drive the group of the horses".[36]

The Hoysala antagonist of Siṅghaṇa was Ballāla II. Shortly after assuming power Siṅghaṇa directed his attention to avenge the disastrous defeat hurled by the Hoysala king Ballāla on Bhillama V in the battle of Soratur. By a series of campaigns Siṅghaṇa occupied a large portion of the Hoysala kingdom including the Bellary, Anantpur. Chitaldrug and Shimoga districts, and it continued under the Yādavas throughout the thirteenth century as may be inferred from a large number of Yādava records found there.[37]

Siṅghaṇa's Chola contemporaries were Kulottuṅga III (A.D. 1178-1216), Rājarāja III (A.D. 1216-1246) and Rājendra III (A.D. 1246-1279). In the present state of our knowledge, however, there is nothing to substantiate Siṅghaṇa's claim to have won a victory over any of the Chola kings.

His claim to success against the Gauḍa king and the Turushkas (Muslims) does not fare better. The Patna inscription informs us that a lesser general of Siṅghaṇa had defeated a Hammīra chief.[38] It is not impossible, as suggested by Dr. Altekar, that in course of his expedition in Gujarat and Mālava Siṅghaṇa may have been involved in some border skirmishes with the Muslims.

In verse 22 of the Sakaleśvara Temple Inscription Kholeśvara is styled as the destroyer of the king of Bambhāgiri, while a *viruda* in line 30 of the same epigraph describes him as a forest-fire for setting ablaze the family of the Ābhīra king Lakshmīdeva, the lord of Bhambhāgiri. Verse 35 of the Yogeśvari Inscription also alludes to the destruction by Kholeśvara of the ruler of Bhambhāgiri. Verse 8 of the Rāmanārāyaṇa Inscription describes him as an axe in cutting off the creeper, that is, the lineage of the cruel Ābhīra kings. The Ābhīra chief is evidently the same as Hemādri's Lakshmīdhara, the 'lion of Rambhāgiri', who is said to have

the Chālukya king Bhīma II in V. S. 1295 (A.D. 1237).[32] It is interesting to note in this connection that in the Kadi grant, dated A. D. 1261, Vīsaladeva is described as the submarine fire to dry up the ocean of Siṅghaṇa's army (*Siṅghaṇa-sainya-samudra-saṁśoshaṇa-vaḍavānala*).[33] The Dabhoi inscription also asserts that he fought successfully with the *Dakshiṇeśvara*.[34] It follows from these facts that Rāma's Gujarat compaign took place sometime between A.D. 1237, the date when Vīsaladeva succeeded his father Vīradhavala as a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, and A.D. 1240, the date of the Rāmanārāyaṇa Inscription. Vīsaladeva must have fought this war on behalf of his nominal Chālukya overlord, Bhīmla II.

King Keśi, who came into conflict with Siṅghaṇa, has not been satisfactorily indentified so far. We think he can be identified with Jayakeśin III, the Kadamba king of Goa, who ruled from A.D. 1167-68 to A.D. 1215 or 1217.[35] In his war with Jayakeśin, Siṅghaṇa was probably helped by his feudatory Chandradeva who is known to have been flourishing in A.D. 1250. The Tasgaon plates of Yādava Kṛishṇa, dated Śaka 1172 (A.D. 1250), represent him as addressing the enemies of his Yādava overlord variously. He addressed Jayakeśin as follows; "Oh Lord, if you are Jayakeśin, the king of the sea, then drive the group of the horses".[36]

The Hoysala antagonist of Siṅghaṇa was Ballāla II. Shortly after assuming power Siṅghaṇa directed his attention to avenge the disastrous defeat hurled by the Hoysala king Ballāla on Bhillama V in the battle of Soratur. By a series of campaigns Siṅghaṇa occupied a large portion of the Hoysala kingdom including the Bellary, Anantpur. Chitaldrug and Shimoga districts, and it continued under the Yādavas throughout the thirteenth century as may be inferred from a large number of Yādava records found there.[37]

Siṅghaṇa's Chola contemporaries were Kulottuṅga III (A.D. 1178-1216), Rājarāja III (A.D. 1216-1246) and Rājendra III (A.D. 1246-1279). In the present state of our knowledge, however, there is nothing to substantiate Siṅghaṇa's claim to have won a victory over any of the Chola kings.

His claim to success against the Gauḍa king and the Turushkas (Muslims) does not fare better. The Patna inscription informs us that a lesser general of Siṅghaṇa had defeated a Hammīra chief.[38] It is not impossible, as suggested by Dr. Altekar, that in course of his expedition in Gujarat and Mālava Siṅghaṇa may have been involved in some border skirmishes with the Muslims.

In verse 22 of the Sakaleśvara Temple Inscription Kholeśvara is styled as the destroyer of the king of Bambhāgiri, while a *viruda* in line 30 of the same epigraph describes him as a forest-fire for setting ablaze the family of the Ābhīra king Lakshmīdeva, the lord of Bhambhāgiri. Verse 35 of the Yogeśvari Inscription also alludes to the destruction by Kholeśvara of the ruler of Bhambhāgiri. Verse 8 of the Rāmanārāyaṇa Inscription describes him as an axe in cutting off the creeper, that is, the lineage of the cruel Ābhīra kings. The Ābhīra chief is evidently the same as Hemādri's Lakshmīdhara, the 'lion of Rambhāgiri', who is said to have

been killed by Siṅghaṇa.[39] The Uddari stone inscription[40] and the Paithan[41] and Purushottamapurī[42] plates also refer to this exploit of Siṅghaṇa. Shri G.H. Khare proposed to indentify Bhambhāgiri with the village of Bhambhori in the Ahmadnagar District or Rājā's Bhām near Yeotmal.[43] On the other hand, Dr. V.V. Mirashi identified it with a hill near the ruined old town called Bhāmer, 4 miles to the south of Nizampur in the Pimpalner Taluka of the West Khandesh District. The town is situated at the foot of a great fortified hill strewn with many ruined gateways, towers as also some old caves locally called Rājā's houses.[44] The latter view appears to be more probable. Now, the *Rājāpraśasti* of Hemādri, the Uddari stone inscription and the Paithan and Purushottampurī plates attribute this achievement to Siṅghaṇa, while the inscriptions under study credit his general Kholeśvara with this exploit. It follows from this that the line of Lakshmīdeva was actually brought to an end by Kholeśvara on behalf of his master.

Line 27 of the Sakaleśvara Inscription describes Kholeśvara as the master of the kingdom of Bhojadeva, the Paramāra chief of Cāhanda, whereas a stanza (30) in the Yogeśvarī Inscription asserts that Bhojadeva, king of Cāṁhada, who had mustered fourfold forces, was conquered by Kholeśvara in the battlefield.[45] As suggested by Shri G.H. Khare.[46] Cāhanda or Cāṁhada, the seat of authority of Paramāra Bhojadeva, is probably identical with Chanda, the chief town of the district of that name, in Maharashtra. A certain Bhoja, king of Vidarbha, is said to have composed the *Champū-Rāmāyaṇa*.[47] It is difficult to decide whether or not the two Bhojas were one and the same. There is, however, nothing to show that author of the *Champū Rāmāyaṇa* belonged to the Pāramāra family. As Devapāla, and not Bhoja, was at this time ruling over the chief Paramāra kingdom of Malwa, Shri Khare opines that like Paramāra, Bhoja of our inscriptions also was a family, not personal, name of the king and that Bhoja of Chanda had nothing to do with the Paramāra dynasty.[48] But this view is against the evidence of Sakaleśvara Inscription which categorically avers that Bhojadeva belonged to the Paramāra line.[49] Further, there is no doubt that Bhojadeva in the present case was a personal, not dynastic or family, name. Attention must be invited in this connection to a stone inscription in the Bhadranāga temple at Bhandak, 16 miles north-west of Chanda, recording the installation of an image of Nāga-Nārāyaṇa and the repairs to the temple in Śaka 1308 (A.D. 1386) by a Paramāra.[50] This shows that a branch of the Paramāra family ruled in this region. It is not impossible that Bhoja of our records belonged to this family. The Paramāra rule in this region was thus brought to an end or temporarily eclipsed by Siṅghaṇa's general Kholeśvara.

In lines 27-28 of the Sakaleśvara Temple Inscription Kholeśvara is described as the very southern wind to curb the haughtiness of the army of Hemāḍi, king of Bānakheṭī.[51] Now, we know two rulers of the name Hemādri, to wit, (1) The Nikumbha chief Hemāḍideva ruling in the Chalisgaon region of Khandesh, known

from the Patna inscription of Śaka 1128 (A.D. 1206),[52] and (2) Hemādrideva ruling at Tekkali (modern Barsi-Takli), Akola District, Maharashtra, in Śaka 1098 (A.D. 1176), known from the Barsi Takli inscription of that year.[53] Of these, the former was evidently a contemporary of and owed allegiance to Siṅghaṇa, for he styled 'a lion to the elephants that were the enemies of the illustrious Siṅghaṇa'.[54] There is, therefore, nothing improbable in the suggestion of Shri G.H. Khare that this Hemādri may have revolted against Siṅghaṇa early in the latter's reign, but Kholeśvara defeated and made him renew his allegiance to the Yādava emperor.[55]

Dr. Mirashi, however proposes to identify our Hemāḍi with the Hemādrideva of the Barsi-Talki inscription of Śaka 1098.[56] He prefers to read *Parṇakheṭīya* in place of *Bāṇakheṭīya*[57] and basing on the assertion in Hemādri's *Vratakhaṇḍa* that the Yādava ruler Mallugi captured a town named Parṇakheṭa from his enemies and while resting in that town carried away forcibly the elephant force of the Utkala king holds that Parṇakheṭa captured by Mallugi and the place of that name where Hemādri of the Sakaleśvara Inscription was ruling must have been situated somewhere to the east of Khandesh, probably in Vidarbha, and proposes to identify it with Patkhed, about four miles to the south-west of Barsi-Takli. He reconstructs the course of events somewhat as follows:—Mallugi defeated the father or some other elderly relative of Hemādri of the Barsi-Takli inscription; while he was a mere boy, Hemādri vanquished Rājula, son of Mālugi, who was advancing on Tekkali with a large army; finally Kholeśvara defeated him early in Siṁhaṇa's reign.[58] It is, however, difficult to accept Prof. Mirashi's suggestion which suffers from some drawbacks. Firstly, the place-name is clearly spelt in our inscription as Bāṇakheṭī,[59] not Parṇakhetī, as conjectured by Prof. Mirashi. Thus there is no connection whatsoever between the capture of Parṇakheṭa by Mallugi and the defeat of Hemādri at the hands of Kholeśvara. Chronological considerations pose another difficulty. According to the Barsi-Takli inscription, Hemādri vanquished Rājula, son of Mālugi. Even if we regard this Mālugi as the same with the Yādava king Mallugi, as suggested by Dr. Mirashi, it may be reasonably assumed that his son Rājula must have attacked Hemādri as his father's general. Now, according to historians, the reign of Mallugi came to an end in *circa* A.D. 1160,[60] whereas Siṅghaṇa, whose general Kholeśvara is stated to have defeated Hemāḍi, came to power in A.D. 1210. Thus, there is a gap of about half a century between the close of Mallugi's reign and the beginning of Siṅghaṇa's in other words, between Hemādri's victory over Rājula and his own supposed defeat at the hands of Kholeśvara. Even otherwise there is an interval of thirty-four years between the only known date of Hemādri of the Barsi-Takli inscription and the accession of Siṅghaṇa.[61]

According to the Sakaleśvara Inscription (line 28), Kholeśvara put Rāmapāla to fight. The name of the province under Rāmapāla's rule has become illegible in this epigraph, but the Yogeśvarī inscription (verse 32) describes him as the ruler

of Vārāṇasī and as the very death to his enemies. He is evidently the same as the king of Kāśi (*Kāśi-pati*) who, according to the Patna inscription, was defeated by Siṅghaṇa.[62] From the manner of his description he appears to have been a powerful chief. However, no ruler of this name exercising sway over Vāṛāṇasī in the time of Siṅghaṇa is known so far. Vārāṇasī was no doubt included within the dominions of the Pāla king Rāmpāla, but the latter's reign had come to an end about eighty years before Siṅghaṇa's accession. Moreover, Vārāṇasī was at this time under Muslim rulers. Dr. Altekar. therefore, suggested that after Vārāṇasī came under the Muslims, scions of the Hindu family ruling there might have escaped to Madhya Pradesh and carved out small principalities for themselves. They might have called themselves kings of Vārāṇasī and occasionally came into conflict with Siṅghaṇa.[63] The composer of the inscriptions may have given his name as Rāmapāla as he knew that the Pāla king Rāmapāla had once ruled over Vārāṇasī.[64] Though this explanation is not quite convincing, we are not in a position to offer any other solution, and the question must be let open for the present.

According to the Yogeśvarī inscription (verse 34), Kholeśvara reduced in no time the fort of Toragalla which had become unassailable even to arrogant rulers. This exploit is also recorded in the Sakaleśvara Inscription (line 29) where Kholeśvara is compared to Rāma in storming Laṅkā that was the inaccessible fort of Toragalla. In view of the fact that the fort of Torgal, near Kolhapur, retained its importance even during the period of Muslim rule, its capture was indeed a great achievement of which a seasoned general could justifiably be proud.

The Säkaleśvara Inscription (line 32) describes Kholeśvara as a very hatchet to cut off the root that was the head of the powerful Nāgaṇa. This achievement is also referred to in the Yogeśvarī Inscription (verse 33) which states that Kholeśvara struck off Nāgaṇa's head in war. We know nothing about him from any other source.

In the Sakaleśvara Inscription (line 29) Kholeśvara is compared to an eagle (*vainateya*) in destroying the multitude of the serpents, namely, the confederacy of Vāvannadeśa (*Vānannadeṣīya-māṇḍalika-bhujaga-kulanikṛintana-vainateya*, line 29). Nothing is known about Vāvannadeśa.

The same inscription credits Kholeśvara with some success against Kaliṅga (line 27). However, the reading of the relevant portion of the epigraph being very uncertain, the exact nature of this exploit cannot be ascertained. As will be shown shortly, Kholeśvara probably undertook an expedition against South Kośala. It is not impossible that in the course of this campaign he came into conflict with Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga. The Eastern Gaṅga contemporaries of Siṅghaṇa were Rājarāja III, Anaṅgabhīma III and Mārasiṁha I.[65]

In lines 31-32 of this inscription Kholeśvara is described as a great Varāha (Boar incarnation of Vishṇu) in lifting up the earth that was the army of a southern king which was submerged in the sea of the battle fierce with waves that

were the elephants, chariots and horses of the Raṭṭa chief Karuvema who is compared to a crocodile (*Raṭṭapati-Karūvema-makara-kari-pravahaṇa-turaga-vīchī-prabalatara-raṇ-ārṇṇavanimogna-dakshiṇā-nṛipati-senā-pṛi [thvī]-samadharaṇā-mahāvarāha*). Relying on the analogy of the names like Annavema, Shri Khare held that Karuvema must have been a Chola king of Kāñchī.[66] But while Karuvema is described as a Raṭṭa chief, Annavema and others of his family are never styled Raṭṭa. The suggestion of Shri Khare, therefore, cannot be accepted. However, no king bearing the name Karuvema is known from any other source. But we know of two Raṭṭa families ruling in the Belgaum District of the Mysore State, one from Saundatti and the other from Veṇugrāma (Belgaum). Kārttavīrya IV, the Raṭṭa chief of Veṇugrāma, is known to have been a subordinate under Siṅghaṇa.[67] The latest date of the last known member of the family, Lakshmīdeva II, is A.D. 1228. Shortly afterwards the Raṭṭa family lost possession of its kingdom which was then placed under the charge of Bīchaṇa, a great general of Siṅghaṇa.[68] Raṭṭapati Karuvema of the Sakaleśvara Inscription may have belonged to this family. In that case Karuvema may have been either the name of Lakshmīdeva II's unknown successor or a nickname of Kārttavīrya IV or Lakshmīdeva II. But this is a mere conjecture as we have no evidence to support it. Also we have no knowledge of the circumstances leading to this conflict. The southern king overwhelmed by Karuvema and then rescued by Kholeśvara also cannot be identified. The recently discovered Ardhapur stone inscription, dated Śaka 1111 (A.D. 1190) has brought to light another line of Raṭṭa chiefs ruling in the Parbhani region as feudatories of the Yādavas.[69] The inscription refers to three generations of the Raṭṭa chiefs and describes the last of them, Ballāla, as the 'stabiliser of the Yādava kings'. Nothing is known about the subsequent history of the family. It is not impossible that Karuvema of our inscriptions belonged to this family.

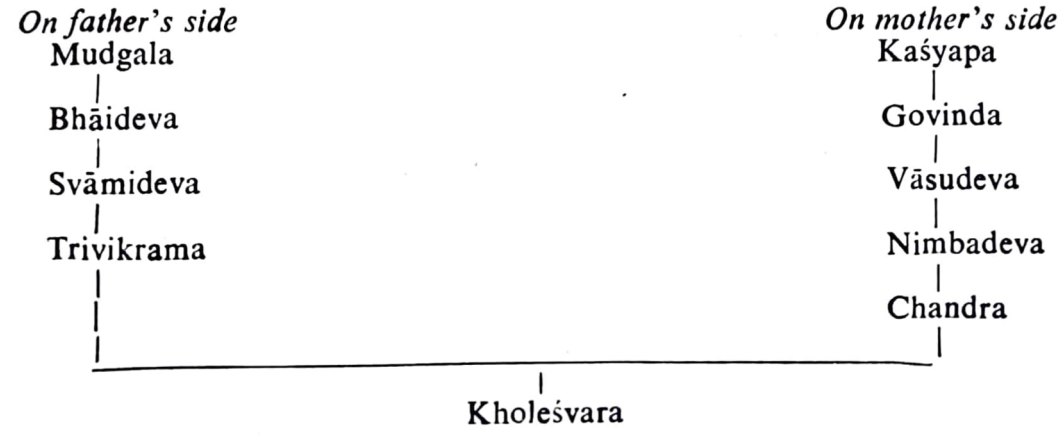
Verse 22 of the Sakaleśvara Inscription seems to refer to some victories of Kholeśvora in Mālava, Vaṅga, Gurjara, Nepāla, Kośala, Hoysala, Teluṅga and Chola countries. This verse is in the form of an address to the women of the royal harems of these kingdoms and states that they (women) had angered Kholeśvara, the destroyer of the king of Bhambhāgiri. As we have shown above, Śiṅghaṇa's campaigns in Mālava and Gujarat were led by Kholeśvara. Siṅghaṇa's relations with the southern kingdoms have also been already referred to. The stanza in question shows that Kholeśvara participated in his master's southern campaigns also. Siṅghaṇa's Vaṅga contemporaries were the Sena kings Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena. But there is no independent evidence to show that Siṅghaṇa or his general Kholeśvara actually came into conflict with the Senas of Bengal. His claim to success against Nepal also appears to be a mere boast without any basis in fact. However, his claim as regards Kośala or Chhattisgarh region seems to rest on solid facts. Pratāpamalla, the last known Kalachuri chief of Ratanpur, ruled at least up to A.D. 1218. It is possible that he or his unknown successor was defeated

and his kingdom annexed by Siṅghaṇa. That Siṅghaṇa and his successors maintained their hold over the Chhattisgarh region down to the end of the dynasty is vouched for by the discovery of the coins of Siṅghaṇa in the Raigarh District of Madhya Pradesh[70] and those of Siṅghaṇa, Kṛishṇa, Mahādeva and Rāmachandra at Sonepur in Orissa.[71] The Yādava conquest of South Kośala was evidently achieved by Kholeśvara.

The Yogeśvarī Temple Inscription mentions another military exploit of Kholeśvara, viz., he brought a maddened elephant of Kaliṅga origin from Chakrakoṭa, the ancient capital of the Nāgas ruling in the former Bastar State. In the absence of more evidence on this point the nature of this exploit cannot be determined.

It would follow from the above that the extension of the Yādava power in the north was almost entirely the work of Siṅghaṇa's able general Kholeśvara. But his activities were not confined to the north alone. He had some exploits to his credit in the south also. He subdued a Raṭṭa chief of Mysore and participated in some other southern compaigns of Siṇghaṇa. The capture of the famous fort of Torgal was also due to him. Thus the high encomium showered on him in the inscriptions under study is fully justified by the glory that he brought to his master.

The Sakeleśvara and the Yogeśvarī temple inscriptions supply us valuable information about Kholeśvara's descent both on his mother's and fater's side. On father's side the descent is traced to the sage Mudgala who was always engrossed in meditating on Lord Śiva. On mother's side the descent is derived from the sage Kaśyapa. In other words, Mudgala was his own *gotra* and Kaṣyapa, the *gotra* of his mother's family. The descent on both the sides may be shown in a tabular form as follows :



Kholeśvara's ancestors are described in very general terms. Only the following details are of some interest : Bhāideva performed some sacrifices, while Svāmideva was a patron of scholars. The whole of the *agrahāra* of Umbarapaṅktika is said to have been sanctified by the birth of Trivikrama. This shows that Umbarapaṅktika

was the home town of Kholeśvara. As will be shown below, Umbarapaṅktika is now represented by the modern Amraoti in the Maharashtra State.

As regards his mother's descent, we are told that Govinda was foremost among good kings (*agryaḥ kalyāṇa-bhübhujām*), and that Vāsudeva was always absorbed in worshipping Vāsudeva, i.e., he was a Vaishṇava. Nimbadeva is said to have been a veritable wish-giving tree (*kalpavriksha*) to the supplicants and a lion to his enemies.

Although Nimbadeva is described as verily, a moon to the waterlilies that were the Brāhmaṇas, the very tone of description leaves no room for doubt that Kholeśvara's mother hailed from a ruling family. As stated above, Govinda is clearly described as a king (*bhūbhuj*), Kholeśvara's ancestors, on the other hand, do not seem to have any pretensions to royal power; none of them had either a regal title or a military achievement to his credit. They were pround of performing Vedic sarifices and enjoying *agrahāras*. Kholeśvara was probalbly the first member of his family to exchange the hereditary priestly profession for a military career, and by virtue of his own ability he attained the status of a great general (*sainyādhipati*) and a feudatory chief.

Kholeśvara was not only a great military leader of his time, but distinguished himself equally well in peaceful pursuits of life. As the traditional progenitor of his family, the sage Mudgala, is said to have meditatad upon Śiva, it may be concluded that Śaivism was his family religion, and the construction by him of the temple of the god Śiva Sakaleśvara at Āmrapura (modern Ămbe) is in keeping with this fact. He also rected a temple of the goddess Yogeśvarī and enlarged a temple of Vināyaka. But he practised religious toleration. While Śaivism was his family religion, he cherished great love for Vaishṇavism also. He built a lofty temple dedicated to the god Śarṅgadhārin (Vishṇu) at Achalapura, modern Ellichpur in the Amraoti District of Maharashtra. It is interesting to note in this connection that even now there is a temple of Śārṅgadhārin at Ellichpur, and while the temple itself is a modern construction, the image is undoubtedly old and most probably represents the one installed by Kholeśvara.

As we have seen above, Kholeśvara was a Brāhmaṇa by birth, and though he had given up *śāstra* for *śastra*, he continued to solicit the welfare of the Brāhmaṇas. His father Trivikrama, as stated above, was born in the *agrahāra* village of Umbarapaṅktika. In all probability Kholeśvara was also born in the same Brāhmaṇa village. He founded a number of *agrahāra* himself. A great *agrahāra*, called Khollapūra after his own name was created by him on the bank of the river Payoshṇī. Khollapūra is now represented by Kholapur, 16 miles west of Amraoti. In extent and glory this *agrahāra* township is compared to Hastināpura. Another extensive *agrahāra* named Vārāṇasī, resorted to by a number of Brāhmaṇas, was created by him in what was then known as Varadātaṭa. Varadāṭata appears to have denoted Vidarbha, and the present regional name Berar is its derivative.

Vārāṇasī *agrahāra* may be identified with the modern Banārsi, a tiny village a little to the north-west of Amraoti. It is noteworthy in this connection that the surname Banārse is quite common in this part of Maharashtra. Probably the surname originated from this *agrahāra* township. Kholeśvara established several *agrahāras*, free watersheds (*prapā*), free feeding houses (*sattras*) and built temples and stepwells (*vāpīs*) in Varadātaṭa. In view of the fact that all the other places of Vidarbha mentioned in these inscriptions are situated in the Amraoti District of Maharashtra, Umbarapaṅktika, the native place of Kholeśvara, must be identified with the present Amraoti itself. In the *Govindaprabhu-charitra*, a Mahānubhāva work of the thirteenth century A,D., it is called Umbarāvatī.[72] It may also be pointed out that the name is still popularly pronounced as Umarāvatī, evidently a derivative of our Umbarapāṅkti.

Kholeśvara was thus a native of Vidarbha and spent the earlier part of his life in his home province.[73] While staying in Vidarbha, he probably helped Siṅghaṇa in putting down the rebellions of the intransigent feudatories and making fresh conquests. His services were duly recognised by his royal master who appointed him his general (*sainyādhipati*) and provincial governor with a feudatory status.[74] He then migrated to Marathwada and made Āmbe his headquartets. He spared no efforts to adorn his new headquarters by building the Sakaleśvara, the Yogeśvarī and other temples there and made liberal grants for their maintenance. His association with Āmbe was so close that in public memory their names came to be connected with one another. Thus in the Mahānubhāva work called *Līlāchartta* Āmbe is referred to as Kholeśvara's (*Kholanāyakāche Āmbe*).[75] He endeared himself to the people by undertaking works of public utility. We learn from the Yogeśvarī Inscription that he got a large tank excavated in the Dhārauradeśa, i.e., the region round Dharur in the Bhir District.

Sometime after A.D. 1228 Kholeśvara was succeeded by his son Rāma, who, as noted above, met his end in a fierce battle against the Vāghela chief Visāladeva on the bank of the river Narmadā. At the time of his death his son, whose name is not mentioned, was a minor and so Rāma's sister Lakshmī looked after of affairs of her nephew's patrimony. She constructed a temple dedicated to the god Rāmanārāyaṇa to perpetuate the memory of her departed brother.[76]

Notes and References

1. The number of missing *aksharas* varies from 12 to 2 in the descending order.
2. Only the initial salutation to Vighnarāja (Gaṇeśa) and the concluding Marathi sentence recording details about the engraving of the inscription area in prose.
3. Here called Siṁha. The view of Bühler (*ASWI*, III, p. 86) that this inscription refers to the Yādava king as Siṁhamedha was based on a wrong reading. The correct reading is *Siṁhameśha*, and not *Siṁihamedha* as held by Bühler.

4. *Bhārata Itihāsa Sāṁśodhaka Maṇḍaḷa Traimāsika*, Vol. XXX, Parts 1-2, Supplement, p. 5; *Marāthī Saṁśodhana Patrikā*, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 23-30.
5. *Prāchīna Marāṭhī Koriva Lekha* (Poona 1963), pp. 118-123.
6. *ASWI*, III, p. 49.
7. The late Dr. A.S. Altekar alone has utilised the evidence of these inscriptions, that too only partially, in his chapter on the Yādavas in the *Early History of the Deccan* edited by G. Yazdani, pp. 531ff.
8. *EI*, V, p. 33.
9. Bahal Inscription of Siṅghaṇa, verse 14, *ibid.*, III, p. 113; Madanpur inscription of Kanhara, verse 10, *ibid.*, XIX, p. 22; Purushottampurī plates of Rāmachandra, verse 4, *ibid.*, XXV, p. 209; Paithan plates of Rāmachandra, IA, XIV. The *Rājapraśasti* of Hemādri's *Vratakhaṇḍa* (*Collected Works of Sir R.G, Bhandarkar*, III, p. 195, verse 43) asserts that Siṅghaṇa killed Arjuna. Though there is no independent evidence in support of this claim, Dr. Altekar regards it as probable (*Early History of the Deccan*, ed, Yazdani, p. 534). The *Sūkti-muktāvalī* of Jalhaṇa (vv. 16-20), cited by R.G. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, (p. 160, fn. 6) avers that Siṃha uprooted Arjuna by virtue of the training in the science of elephants (*gaja-śikshā*) he had received from Janārdana.
10. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 525, fn. 4.
11. *Early History of the Deccan* (*Collected Works*, Vol. III), p. 150.
12. *Arjuna-Mālavī-kshiti-pati-matta-mātaṅga-mada-dalana-pañchānana*, *Mysore Archaeological Survey Report*, 1929, p. 143.
13. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 195, verse 44.
14. *Dhār-ādhipa-viśada-sumalla-Devapāla-māna-bhañjana-prabhañjana*, line 31. Cf. the Rāmānārāyaṇa Temple Inscription (verse 8) wherein Kholeśvara is styled a very lion to the elephants that were the Mālavas.
15. *JNSI*, XXVII (ii), pp. 214-15.
16. Uddari Stone Inscription, *Mysore Archaeological Survey Report*, 1929, p. 142.
17. Sangur Inscription of Mahadevaraya, *EI*, XXIII, p. 194.
18. *Rāja-praśasti*, *op. cit.*, verse 41, p. 195.
19. Yenamadala Inscription on Gaṇapāmba, *EI*, III, verse 5, p. 97. Also cf. *Siddheśvara-charita*, p. 112; *Pratāpa-charita*, p. 30.
20. Verse 16.
21. Verse 25.
22. It is likely that Siṃha hailed from the same Chāhamāna line of which six members are known from the Hansot plates of Bhartṛivaḍḍha to have ruled over Lāṭa. *EI*, XII, p. 197.
23. A.K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujrat* p. 154.
24. *Hammira-mada-mardana* (G.O.S., Vol. X), pp. 5, 17.
25. A.K. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 154.
26. Yazdani (ed.) *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 535, fn. 4.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 536.
28. *Kīrti-kaumūdī*, IV. 43-63. Vide also *Vasanta-vilāsa* (G.O.S. Vol. VII), Introduction, p. ix; *Hammīra-mada-mardana*, Introduction, p. v.
29. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 153, fn. 3; *Hamīra-mada-mardana*, Introduction pp. viii-ix; H.C. Ray. *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, pp. 1024-25.
30. *ASWI*, III, p. 86.
31. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-55.
32. H.C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 1032.
33. *IA*, VI, pp. 191, 212.
34. *EI*, I, pp. 20ff.

35. The regnal period of Jayakeśin III is variously given by different authorities. Thus, Fleet assigned him the period A.D. 1187-88 to 1210-11 (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part i, p. 571). According to Dr. G.M. Moraes (*Kadambkula*. p. 167), he ruled upto A.D. 1216. In the *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy*, for 1925-26, App. C, Nos. 437, 439, App. E, p. 83, A.D. 1215 or 1217 is given as the lower limit of his reign.
36. *EI*, xxvii, verse 19, p. 214.
37. G. Yazdani (ed.) *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 532.
38. *EI*, I, pp. 340-41.
39. Bhandkar, *op. cit.*, p. 195, verse 44.
40. *Mysore Archaeological Survey Report*, 1929, pp. 142f.
41. *IA*, xiv.
42. *EI*, xxv, p. 209, verse 9.
43. *Dakshinachyā Madhya-yugīna Itihāsāchī Sādhane*, I, p. 59.
44. *EI*, xxv, p. 203.
45. The place-name appears to have been spelt bothways, Chāhanda and Chāṁhada. The former spelling is met with in the Sakaleśvara Inscription, while the latter occurs in the Yogeśvarī Inscription.
46. *Dakshinachyā Madhya-yugīna Itihāsāchi Sādhane*, I, p. 59.
47. According to a manuscript Colophon referred to by Shri Khare.
48. *Dakshinachyā Madhya-yugīna Itihāsāchī Sādhane*, I, p. 59.
49. *Chāhanda-deś-ādīśvara-Paramāra-Bhojadeva-deś-eśvara.*
50. Hira Lal, *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar* (2nd edition), No. 18, pp. 15-16.
51. *Bāṇakheṭīya-Hemāḍi-ma(vā)hinī-māna-dalana-dakshiṇ-ānala.*
52. *EI*, I, pp. 338ff.
53. *Ibid.*, xxi, pp. 128ff. Hemādri, the famous scholar and minister of Yādava Rāmachandra is out of question in this connection.
54. *Śrīmat-Siṅghaṇa-vairi-kaṇṭha-karati-kaṇṭhirava yat-karaḥ.*
55. *Dakshinachyā Madhya-yugina Itihāsāchi Sādhane*, I, p. 59.
56. *EI*, xxi, pp. 128ff.
57. *Bāṇatvetīya* of Shri G.H. Khare.
58. *EI*, xxi, pp. 130-31.
59. This reading has been kindly checked for me by Prof. Mirashi.
60. G. Yazdani (ed), *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 519.
61. The following points also deserve consideration in the present context : (1) Except phonetic similarity there is nothing to vouch for the identification of Mallugi and Mālugi; (2) Mallugi is known to have had two sons, Amaragāṇgeya and Karṇa; Rājula is not known to have been his son from any other source.
62. *EI* I, pp. 341-42, verse 7.
63. Even as the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed and the Yādavas of Devagiri styled themselves as lords of Laṭṭalūra and Dvārāvati respectively.
64. G. Yazdani (ed), *op. cit.*, pp. 540-41.
65. R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalkar (ed.), *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 207-208.
66. *Dakshiṇachyā Madhya-yugīna Itihāsāchī Sādhane*, I, p. 61.
67. *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 189.
68. G. Yazdani (ed.), *Early History of the Deccan*, pp. 537-38.
69. N.S. Pohanekar, *Raṭṭa-vaṁśīya Ballāla yāchī Ardhāpura Śilālekha*, published by Marathi Grantha Sangrahalaya, Bombay.
70. *JNSI*, viii, pp. 147ff.

71. *Ibid.*, xv, pp. 126ff. As pointed out by B.B. Nath (*ibid.*, p. 129), the discovery at Sonepur of the coins of three successors of Siṅghaṇa demonstrates the improbability of the occupation of Kośala by Nasir-ud-Din as suggested by Dr. Altekar on the basis of the association of a gold coin of Nasir-ud-Din with those of Siṅghaṇa found in the Raigarh District. There is also nothing to support Dr. Altekar's surmise that the local Kalachuri rulers of Jabalpur and Tummāṇa were known as Kokkalla and jājalla (*Early History of the Deccan* (ed) by G. Yazdani). p. 540). It is more probable, as suggested by D.C. Ganguli, that these were kings ruling in parts of Mysore. Vide *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 189.
72. Edited by Dr. V.B. Kolte Malkapur 1960, p. 236.
73. Dr. A.S. Altekar's opinion that Kholeśvara was a native of Khandesh (*Early History of the Deccan*, p. 541) is not correct.
74. He is styled *kshamāpati*.
75. Ekāṅka, edited by H.N. Nene, No. 12.
76. For my edition of these epigraphs, see my *Yādava Inscriptions from Ambe Jogai*, Hoshiarpur, 1972.

71. *Ibid.*, xv, pp. 126ff. As pointed out by B.B. Nath (*ibid.*, p. 129), the discovery at Sonepur of the coins of three successors of Siṅghaṇa demonstrates the improbability of the occupation of Kośala by Nasir-ud-Din as suggested by Dr. Altekar on the basis of the association of a gold coin of Nasir-ud-Din with those of Siṅghaṇa found in the Raigarh District. There is also nothing to support Dr. Altekar's surmise that the local Kalachuri rulers of Jabalpur and Tummāṇa were known as Kokkalla and jājalla (*Early History of the Deccan* (ed) by G. Yazdani). p. 540). It is more probable, as suggested by D.C. Ganguli, that these were kings ruling in parts of Mysore. Vide *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 189.
72. Edited by Dr. V.B. Kolte Malkapur 1960, p. 236.
73. Dr. A.S. Altekar's opinion that Kholeśvara was a native of Khandesh (*Early History of the Deccan*, p. 541) is not correct.
74. He is styled *kshamāpati.*
75. Ekāṅka, edited by H.N. Nene, No. 12.
76. For my edition of these epigraphs, see my *Yādava Inscriptions from Ambe Jogai*, Hoshiarpur, 1972.

II

EASTERN DECCAN

7

SOME ASPECTS OF BUDDHISM IN ANDHRA PRADESH

At least from the time of Aśoka and primarily as a result of his zealot missionary work, Andhra turned into an important centre of Buddhism. In the opening centuries of the Christian era it rightly boasted of some of greatest strongholds like, to mention only a few, Amaravati, Bhattiprolu, Salihundam, Guntupalli, Jagayyapeta and, to crown all these, Nagarjunakonda. The prosperity resulting from industrial growth and brisk seaborne trade with a favourable balance of payment position together with the emergence of a wealthy class of traders and merchants contributed substantially to the growth and popularity of the religion, and some of these centres, specially Nagarjunakonda, played a pivotal role in the spread of Buddhism in the different regions of India and abroad. In addition to the pan-Indian sects of Buddhism, a few sects originated in Andhra. Inscriptions throw welcome light on the beliefs and practices of these sects, the administrative organisation of the Buddhist *Saṅgha* and other problems. Here is an attempt to discuss briefly these and allied problems.

No region of India is as rich in Buddhist monuments as Andhra Pradesh, and the cause of studies and researches in Buddhism was dear to the heart of Prof. Subrahmanyam who was, during the last days of his life, making strenuous efforts to establish a centre for Buddhistic studies with the help of Bhutanese government; but the dream could not come true during his life-time due to his sudden passing away. I have, therefore, deliberately chosen for today's lecture some aspects of the early history of Buddhism in Andhra Pradesh. I am particularly happy because it has given me an opportunity to revert back to Buddhism after more than a quarter century.[1]

As averred above, Andhra Pradesh is extremely rich in Buddhistic monuments and has been closely connected with the various developments in the history of Buddhism. It will consequently be too presumptuous on my part to dwell upon the entire history of Buddhism in this region the short span of a lecture. I am, therefore, confining myself to certain interesting features of the contributions of Andhra Pradesh to the development of Buddhism.

Notwithstanding certain late traditions to the contrary,[2] we may safely conclude in the light of the extant evidence that Buddha himself did not come into personal contact with the Andhradeśa or adjoining regions. Even though Aśmaka (Assaka), which, according to Pali tradition, was comprised in Andhaka, is included in the list of the sixteen Mahājanapadas enshrined in the early Buddhist canonical texts,[3] we come across no reference to it in connection with the peregrinations of Buddha. His missionary activity was primarily concentrated in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Nepalese Tarai, Kajangala in the east and the Kuru country in the north being the only places outside these regions visited by him. Verañja near Mathura was the westernmost place sanctified by his personal presence.[4] He did not visit even Avanti (Western Malwa) where his religion was introduced by his disciple Mahākachchāyana.[5] The non-mention of any southern state or locality in the *Mahāparinibhānasuttanta* in connection with the distribution of the corporeal relics of the Master after his *mahāparinirvāṇa* also indicates that no important centre of Buddhism was located in peninsular India during Buddha's life-time. The absence of any allusion to the South in connection with the First Buddhist Council, which took place immediately following the Master's Great Decease is also a pointer in the same direction.

However, what has been said so far does not mean that the Andhra region remained totally unaffected by Buddhism. The well-known episode of the Brāhmaṇa Bāvari of Kosala going to Dakshiṇāpatha, settling down in Assaka on the borders of Mūlaka (or Alaka) on the bank of the Godāvarī and sending his sixteen pupils to Srāvastī to meet Buddha[6] narrated at length in the *Sutta-nipāta* shows unmistakably that reverberations of the religious upsurge were strongly felt in the western Deccan also. It is interesting to note in this connection that the *aṭṭakathā* on the *Sūtta-nipāta* includes both the Assaka and the Mūlaka (v.l. Alaka) *janapadas* in the Andhaka region.[7]

That Buddhism had not made much headway in Dakshiṇāpatha as least for another century will follow from the account of the Second Buddhist Council which took place at Vaiśālī a century after Buddha's passing away and is described at great length in the Chullavagga section (ch. xii) of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* and in the Ceylonese chronicles *Mahāvaṁsa* (iv) and *Dīpavaṁsa* (v) besides other sources. This congregation, which marked an important epoch in the history of Buddhism was attended by monks hailing from distant localities.[8] However, Dakshiṇāpatha not to speak of Andhra, finds no mention in this connection, indicating thereby that Andhra was still far from attaining the position of an important centre of Buddhism.

It was during the Maurya period that Buddhism, which was till now a regional faith, became an all-India (in fact, international) religion, thanks to the untiring efforts and missionary zeal of Aśoka. The Ceylonese chronicles aver that the Third

Buddhist Council held under his patronage at Pāṭaliputra in the eighteenth year of his reign deputed missionories for the propagation of Buddhism to various countries including Mahisha-maṇḍala, Vanavāsī, Aparāntaka and Mahārāshṭra,[9] which shows that the Deccan was brought within the sphere of Buddhism during Aśoka's reign. Mahisha-maṇḍala is sometimes sought to be equated with the Krishna-Godavari region contiguous to Kaliṅga.[10] Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that Andhra Pradesh received a strong tide of Buddhism during Aśoka's reign. His Rock Edict XIII refers to the Andhras as included within his empire (*rāja-vishaya*) and states that they followed his religious instructions.[11] Versions of his minor rock edict found at Yerragudi[12] and Rajula-Mandagiri[13] in the Kurnool District are well known, while more of his minor edicts have been reported recently from Udegola and Nittur in the adjoining Bellary District of Karnataka.[14] The fragment of an as yet unknown Aśokan pillar edict has been found at Amaravati (Guntur Distsict),[15] and the beginnings of the Great Stūpa at this renowned site go back to the Maurya period.[16] The origins of the Bhattiprolu Stūpa are also sought to be taken back to Aśoka's time,[17] though the suggestion may not find general acceptance.[18] It is, thus, apparent that Buddhism became fairly wide spread and popular in the different parts of Andhra Pradesh as a result of Aśoka's untiring missionary activity.

It was after the conquest of Kaliṅga that Aśoka embraced Buddhism and made strenuous efforts for its diffusion throughout the length and breadth of his vast empire and even outside. It is, therefore, quite likely that Buddhism entered Andhra Pradesh by the coastal route. However, the recent excavations at Pauni in the Bhandara District of Maharashtra have brought to light a couple of large *stūpas* dating back to the Maurya period along with N.B. P. sherds and numerous other antiquities including inscribed sculptural fragments which should leave no doubt that, like Bharhut and Sanchi in Central India, it was an important centre of Buddhism in the Deccan from the early Maurya to the Sātavāhana period.[19] It is very likely, nay certain, that it played a very significant role in the transmission of Buddhism to South India, particularly Andhra Pradesh.[20]

Once introduced and popularised in a big way by Aśoka, Buddhism continued its onward march unabated, and the ruling powers, though not necessarily affiliated to this faith, extended liberal patronage to it. The period of the Sātavāhana rule extending from about mid-first century B.C. to the early decades of the third century A.D. constituted the most prosperous epoch in the annals of Buddhism in the Deccan. The Sātavāhanas, who appear to have been associated with parts of Andhra Pradesh from the very start,[21] though themselves adherents of Vedic religion,[22] were great patrons of Buddhism, and, surprisingly enough, all their definitely attributable records,[23] which are fairly numerous, register benefactions in favour of Buddhist establishments. The example set by the ruling chiefs appears

to have been zealously followed by their subjects, and people hailing from the different sections of the society vied with each other in championing the cause of Buddhism. Thus, inscriptions from Amaravati alone refer, *inter alia*, to royal officers such ās army commanders (*senagopa*).[24] royal scribes (*rāja-lekhaka*)[25] and superintendent of waterhouses (*pāniyagharika*),[26] carvan-leaders (*dhanikasathanika*),[27] traders and merchants,[28] treasures and bankers (*heraṇika*),[29] overseers of renovation works (*mahānavakarmika* and *navakarmika*),[30] artisans (*āveśanin*),[31] stone-workers (*Pāshāṇika*),[32] prefumers (*gandhika*),[33] scribes (lekhaka),[34] cowherds (*mahāgopālaka*),[35] cobblers (*charmakāra*)[36] and such other people representing cross sections of the society among those who contributed their mite to the growth of the Buddhist establishments there. There are also numerous instances of a number of individuals, sometimes members of the same family extending over two or three generations together with relatives and friends, making collective donations.[37] Sometimes all the residents of a town represented by their local organisation or corporation (*nigama*) are represented as contributing various parts of the great stūpa (*māhachaitya*),[38] Inscriptions at Guntupalli[39] and Ghantasala[40] speak of great mariners (*mahānāvikas*) as donors. The information supplied by Amaravati inscriptions is true of other important Buddhist establishments in Andhrādeśa also as epigraphs found on the different parts of the structures there also refer to contributions made by members of different communities following various occupations.

A glance at the available evidence leaves no doubt that during a couple of centuries before and after Christ Buddhism had developed a mass base and struck deep roots in the soil. Although it claimed support from all strata of the society, its wide popularity and prosperity as revealed by huge monuments littered all over the region was chiefly brought about by the spontaneous liberal patronage of the ruling chiefs.[41] traders and merchants. The mention of the master mariners perhaps indicates that the prosperity resulting from sea-borne trade, which is evidenced by the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* and numerous finds of Roman coins, was also a very important contributary factor.

Andhra Pradesh was literally littered with Buddhist monuments and there were a number of important Buddhistic centres spread all over the region. But Amaravati, Bhattiprolu, Guntupalli, Ghantasala, Salihundam, Nagarjunakonda, Jagayyapeta and Alluru were undoubtedly more important. Some of them became very prominent and attracted Buddhists from distant places as revealed by the numerous votive inscriptions. Amaravati, in particular, appears to have attained the status of something like a renowned *tīrtha* to which pilgrims flocked in large numbers; they came from closeby as well as far off localities including, *inter alia*, Ujjayinī in Central India and Pāṭaliputra.[42] the well-known imperial metropolis since the days of the Mauryas.[43] In this respect it may be compared to Sanchi and Bharhut in Central India and Bodh-Gaya in Bihar which, too, attracted pilgrims from all over the country.

Buddhism continued to flourish and enjoy popular support in the Krishna-Guntur region for nearly a couple of centuries after the Sātavāhanas who were followed by the Ikshvākus. The Ikshvāku monarchs themselves were staunch adherents of Brāhmaṇical religion and performed Vedic sacrifices and constructed temples of Hindu divinities. The female members of the family were, however, votaries of Buddhism and richly endowed Buddhist establishments, evidently with the moral and material support of the ruling chiefs. It was primarily to their lavish patronage that the famous Buddhist centre of Nagarjunakonda, anciently known as Vijayapurī and with its beginnings going back to the late Sātavāhana period,[44] owed its rise to unprecedented heights, though only for a short period during the third-fourth centuries A.D.,[45] and played an important role in the dissemination of Buddhism in India and outside such as no other establishment played before or after. We learn from an epigraph of the reign of Māṭharīputra Vīrapurushadatta (Second Apsidal Temple Inscription P)[46] that a community of Ceylonese monks had its stronghold at Nagarjunakonda and one of the monasteries, which was evidently meant for it, was even known as Sīhala-vihāra. Missionaries commissioned by it carried on proselytising activities with great zeal and, perhaps, with remarkable success in Kashmir, Gandhāra, Chīna, Chilāta (=Kirata), Tosali, Aparānta, Vaṅga, Vanavāsī. Yavana countries, Draviḍa countries, Palura and the Island of Ceylon.[47] These monks commanded considerable respect and received donations from local lay worshippers, and naturally so as they were instrumental in propagating Buddhism far and wide, in India and abroad. What is equally interesting about Nagarjunakonda is that the votaries of different Buddhist schools and the adherents of Pauranic Hinduism lived at the same place and appear to have led a cordial and harmonious life. Just as there were large Buddhistic monuments temples dedicated to Hindu divinities were also built in a large number and Vedic sacrifices including *agnihotra, agnishṭoma, vājapeya* and *aśva*-medha are known to have been performed with great enthusiasm. Nowhere else one can find such an unique incidence of religious harmony, tolerance and co-existence. A number of other Buddhist centres also flourished in the different parts of Andhra Pradesh during this period; they are too numerous to be enumerated.[48]

In the post-Ikshvāku period the ruling powers primarily owed allegiance to Pauranic Hinduism or Jainism and the spirit of religious catholicity and liberal attitude to other faiths, which characterised the earlier period, was comparatively speaking at a low ebb with the result that Buddhism ceased to enjoy the privileged position which it had so far. With the dwindling of royal support, which was its mainstay, it witnessed a phase of perceptible decline. But it continued to maintain its precarious existence till late mediaeval period before its final disappearance or submergence in the swollen flow of Hinduism.

The aforesaid centres contributed quite a lot to the sectarian development in Buddhism, primarily with a view to meet regional requirements and predilections. In order to grasp adequately the significance of these developments it is imperative to take a bird's eye view of the schismatic tendencies among the Buddhists in a historical perspective.

Dissentient tendencies among the Buddhists were noticed even during the life-time of the Buddha himself, and in early Buddhist literature we often come across references to the Chhabbaggiya (Shaḍvargīya) monks and Buddha's own cousin Devadatta behaving in an irresponsible manner and trying to create dissensions among both the inmates of the *saṅgha* as well as the lay followers. But these disturbances were kept under check by the towering personality of the Master and his timely intervention whenever such situations came to surface.[49] However, with his disappearance from the scene the dissentient tendencies seemed to become uncontrollable, there were differences of opinion regarding the desirability of keeping the minor *vinaya* (disciplinary) rules intact and some of the monks felt free to behave as they liked. With a view to stem these disturbances and maintain the unity of the Order, the First Buddhist Council was held at Rājagṛiha, the Magadhan capital, under the presidentship of Mahākassapa immediately after the Great Decease. It settled the Dhamma and the Vinaya and is said to have decided to retain all the *vinaya* rules including minor ones intact.[50] Thus the schismatic trends were stemmed for the time being; but they could not be kept under check for ever, and with the diffusion of Buddhism in far-flung areas and passage of time sharp differences among the Vajjians or the Easterners and the Westerners came to the fore. According to the Pali canon, these differences pertained to ten disciplinary points (*dasa-vatthūni*),[51] while the northern tradition would make us believe that they concerned five doctrinal points raised by Mahādeva mainly regarding the position of the Arhats.[52] We may, therefore, reasonably conclude that there were differences appertaining both disciplinary and doctrinal points, the emphasis on one of them to the exclusion of the other being due to individual predilections of the two traditions. We are told that in order to settle these differences the Second Council, attended by seven hundred senior monks hailing from different parts of the then Buddhist world, took place at Vaiśālī during the reign of the Śaiśunāga monarch Kālāśoka about a century after the Buddha's demise and gave its verdict against the deviations. We are told by the Ceylonese chronicle *Dīpavaṁsa* that the deviant Vaiśālian monks rejected the decision of the Council and held another Great Council (*Mahāśaṅgīti*) which declared the deviations valid. This, according to the Southern tradition, split the Buddhists into two schools: (i) Theravāda comprising the puritans or traditionalists and (ii) Mahā saṅghika consisting of the deviationists who had rejected the verdict of the Second Council and convened a larger parallel council in order to secure validation of

their practices. The Northern tradition, on the other hand, would make us believe that the Vajjians accepted the decision of the Second Council and gave up their deviating practices and that the five doctrinal points of Mahādeva resulted in the split giving rise to the Mahāsaṅghika school.[53] In spite of the obvious and apparently intentional discrepancies with regard to points of details between the two traditions, there seems to be no reason to doubt that about a century or a little more after the passing away of the Buddha the Buddhist Order got divided into the Theravādins and the Mahāsaṅghikas. Once the process of division started, there was no let up, and these two schools were further split up into a number of sects. The Theravāda gave rise to the following eleven offshoots:

(i) Mahiṁsāsaka (Mahīśāsaka),
(ii) Vajjiputtaka (Vṛijiputraka),[54]
(iii) Dhammuttarīya (Dharmotarīya),
(iv) Bhaddayānika (Bhadrayānika),[55]
(v) Chhandāgārika,
(vi) Sammati (Sammitīya),
(vii) Sabbatthavāda (Sarvāstivāda),
(viii) Dhammaguttika (Dharmaguptika),
(ix) Kassapīya (Kaśyapīya),
(x) Saṅkantika (Saṅkrāntika),
(xi) Suttavāda (Sūtravāda),[56]

The following five sects are said to have broken away from the Mahāsaṅghika school:

(i) Gokulika,
(ii) Ekabyohārika (Ekavyāvahārika),
(iii) Chetiyavāda (Chaityavāda),
(iv) Paññattivāda (Prajñaptivāda),
(v) Bāhulaka.[57]

All these eighteen schools (including Theravāda and Mahāsaṅghika), according to the Ceylonese tradition, originated in the second century after the Buddha's *nirvāṇa*. Six other sects, to wit, (i) Hemavata (Haimavata), (ii) Rājagiriya (Rājagirika), (iii) Siddhatthaka (Siddhārthaka), (iv) Pubbaseliya (Purvaśaila), (v) Aparaseliya (Aparaśaila) and (vi) Vājiriya, which are mostly of local origin, are reported to have come into existence afterwards; exactly when, we are not told. Nothing is stated about their relationship with the aforesaid eighteen schools; but the first is

otherwise known to have been an offshoot of the Theravādins while the next four branched off from the Mahāsaṅghikas. The account of the origin of the Buddhist schools is also met with in the Northern tradition with certain minor differences.[58]

It would follow from the foregoing account of the Second Council and the growth of the Buddhist schools that originally the Mahāsaṅghikas had their concentration in the Vaiśālī region and, may be, some other parts of Bihar whereas the Theravādins had their strongholds in the Kauśāmbī and Mathurā region of Uttar Pradesh.[59] Later, the Mahāsaṅghikas migrated to other areas, and the extant inscriptional evidence indicates that offshoots of the Mahāsaṅghikas enjoyed a predominant position in the Andhra-deśa during the early centuries of the Christian era. Even though we find no reference to these sects in epigraphs datable to three centuries before Christ,[59a] there is reason to believe that the sects of the Mahāsaṅghika fold had made considerable headway in the Andhra region during this period. The non-mention of Andhra in the list of the countries to which missionaries were despatched for proselytising activities by the Third Buddhist Council may suggest that it had already a sizeable number of the Mahāsaṅghikas and was consequently lost to the Theravādins.[60] Attention has also been drawn in this connection to the depiction of certain scenes from Buddha's life emphasising his association with Vaiśālī on a second century B.C. stele at Amaravati and it has been observed that the Vajjian monks, who formed the nucleus of the Mahāsaṅghika school should naturally be anxious to cast a halo around the place of their origin.[61] The presence of the Mahāsaṅghikas at Amaravati and Bhattiprolu is also sought to be faintly indicated by the formation of a *goshṭī* or committee for the construction of the *stupas* which reminds one of the democratic spirit which the original Mahāsaṅghika sect may have imbibed from the Vajjian republic.[62]

We have no direct reference to the Mahāsaṅghikas as such in our inscriptions.[63] However, Nalinaksha Dutt takes the expression *Ayira-haṅgha* (correctly *Ariya-haṅgha*, Sanskrit (*Ārya-saṅgha*) occurring in a couple of Nagarjunakonda inscriptions[63a] as referring to the Mahāsaṅghika school, for the use of the word *ārya* for *mahat* is not uncommon in Pali or Sanskrit. Likewise, the word *haṅghī* found in an Amaravati inscription[64] has been taken to mean 'a follower of the Mahāsaṅghika school', for in the Chinese sources Mahāsaṅghika is often abbreviated as simply Saṅghika.[65] That the Amaravati region continued to be a stronghold of the Mahāsaṅghikas as late as the seventh century A.D. and that the school had its own canonical texts is shown by the *Life* which tells us that during his sojourn in the T'e-na-ka-che-ka (Dhanakaṭaka) country Yuan Chwang studied some *Abhidharma* texts with the local monks.[66]

Among the sub-divisions of the Mahāsaṅghika school we find mention of the Bahuśrutīya, Chaityaka (or Chaityavāda), Rājagiriya, Siddhārthaka and the Śaila (Pūrvaśaila and Aparaśila) sects are found mentioned in the inscriptions from the

Andhra region which was evidently their stronghold during a few centuries before and after Christ, The Bahuśrutīyas, who are taken to be identical with Bāhulakas of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, claim a couple of references, both belonging to the Ikshvāku period. One of these allusion is found in a Nagarjunakonda inscription recording the establishment of a monastery endowed with all the requisities for the teachers of this school by queen Bhaṭidevā who was daughter-in-law of Vāsishṭhīputra Chāntamūla, wife of Mātharīputra Vīrapurushadatta and mother of the reigning monarch Ehuvula Chāntamūla.[67] The other record recently found at Kesanapalli records the gift of a column by a lady during the reign of Vāsishṭhīputra Chāntamūla.[68] The Bahaśrutiya monastery (sites) at Nagarjunakonda originally had two *chaitya-grinas*, both meant for enshrining stūpas, but not Buddha. But latter they adopted the worship of the Buddha image as indicated by the figure of the seated Buddha portrayed on a pillar erected in front of a later oblong shrine.[68a]

We have at least three references to the Chaityaka school, mentioned both as Chetika[69] (Chaityaka) and Chetiyavada[70] (Chaityavāda), in the Amaravati inscriptions. An inscription of the reign of the Sātavāhana monarch Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi aims at registering the gift of a *dharma-chakra* at the western gate of the *mahāchaitya* by certain persons for the acceptance of the Chaityaka school.[71] Two other inscriptions record the pious acts of a female lay follower of the Chaityaka school[72] and a monk who is styled *Chetiyavadaka* (*Chaityavādika*).[73] The extant evidence thus indicates that the Chaityakas occupied a position of supremacy at Amaravati in the second century A.D. and had their settlement at the Mahāchaitya site. They renovated the *stūpa* at Amaravati and appear to have introduced, though on a limited scale, the image of the Buddha on the drum-slabs.[74] As indicated by the name, the school attached great importance to the worship, decoration and erection of the *chaityas*, and the practice of erecting votive *stūpas* to gratify the religious urge of the lay followers may have been popularised by them. Certain innovations in the *stūpa* construction noticed in the lower Deccan may also have been introduced by them. As the avowedly Lokottaravāda text *Mahāvastu* also lays pointed emphasis on the *chaitya*-worship, N. Dutt identifies the Lokottaravādins with the Chaityakas.[75]

The Śaila schools occupied a predominant status in Andhra-deśa during the early centuries A.D. as revealed by numerous epigraphical references to them and their establishments. Both the Śaila sects, *viz.*, Pūrvaśaila and Aparaśaila, referred to in the canonical literature and referred to in inscriptions either in the same form or with a slightly altered spelling.[76] Thus, an Amaravati inscription of the time of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi records the erection of a *dharmachakra-dhvaja* (a column with the representation of the *dharmachakra* on top) at the eastern gate of the *mahāvihāra* at Dhanakaḍa (Amaravati) which was in the possession of the Puvaseliya sect.[77] Monks belonging to this sect are also referred to in an Alluru inscription of the same age.[78] Puvasela is mentioned as a place-name in a Nagar-

juna inscription of the fourteenth year the reign of Mathariputra Vīrapuruhadatta.[79] The Aparaśaila school is mentioned under the name Aparamahāvinaseliya in an Amaravati inscription.[80] Nagarjunakonda inscriptions of the Ikshvāku period abound in references to this school under this name, and this school was evidently most dominant at this place and the region round it. One of these inscriptions (no. C 1) records the completion of a mahāchaitya for the benefit of the Aparamahāvinaseliyas in the sixth year of the reign of Vīrapurushadatta.[81] Another Inscription speaks of the erection of a stone pillar at the *mahāchaitya* by queen Bapasiriṇikā, uterine sister of *Mahārāja* Vāsishṭhīputra Chāntamūla and wife of *Mahārāja* Vīrapurushadatta, for the acceptance of the Aparamahāvinaseliya sect.[82] Yet another epigraph records a pious foundation in favour of the *āchāryas* of the Aparamahavinuseliya sect, in the eighteenth year of Virapurushadatta's reign.[83] We find mention of the creation of an endowment of 150 *dīnarī-māshakas* for the same sect in a recently discovered record from the same site.[84] The abbreviated form Aparaseliya is met with in a fragmentary inscription from Ghantasala[85] (Krishna District) assignable on palaeographical grounds to about the same period as the Nagarjunakonda inscriptions.[86] That the Aparaśaila sect had some following in the Western Deccan also is shown by a Kanheri inscription recording the excavation of a cave and a water-cistern for the community of the monks affiliated to this school.[87]

The Ceylon Pali tradition speaks of the Pubbaseliyas and the Aparaseliyas as two sub-divisions of the Mahāsaṅghikas which branched off a couple of centuries after Buddha's *nirvāṇa*. Like other local sects, these two schools also appear to have been so called after the place of their origin. The words *pūrva* and *apara* also point in the same direction. This finds support from the testimony of Yuan Chwang who observes that the country of T'e-na-ka-che-ka (Dhanakaṭaka)[88] "there was a crowd of Buddhist monasteries, but most of them were deserted, about twenty being in use, with 1000 Brethern mostly adherents of the Mahāsaṅghika system. . . At a hill to the east of the capital was a monastery called Fu-p'o-shih-lo (Pūrvaśaila) or "East Mountain", and at a hill to the west of the city was the A-pa-lo-shih-lo (Avaraśaila)[89] or "West Mountain" monastery.[90] Basing on these observations of Yuan Chwang J. Ph. Vogel felt that it were these two monasteries where the two schools, *viz.*, Pūrvaśaila and Aparaśaila, flourished. He poses the problem: "Can it be that the two sects, known as *Pubba* and *Aparaselikas*, originated from the two Buddhist convents of Pubbasela and Aparasela which, according to Hiuen Tsiang, existed on the hills to the east and the west of the capital of Dhannakaṭaka?',[91] This suggestion has been rightly accepted by almost all scholars. He further suggests that the Aparaseliya of the *Mahāvaṁsa* is probably an abbreviated form of the Aparamahāvinaseliya of the inscriptions.

Inscriptions shed welcome light on the origin of the Śaila schools. An Amaravati inscription aims at recording the establishment of a chief pavilion (*pradhāna-maṇḍapa*) as a meritorious gift of the merchant Kaṇḍa, a perfumer (*gandhika*), son of the merchant Dhammila, from Sagharu. . . disciple of the illustrious teacher Sāriputa who is described as a *Mahāvanasaliya ächārya*.[92] E. Hultzsch, however, translates the word *Mahavanasaliyāna* as one 'who lives in the hall of the great forest'.[93] But since the expression *Mahavanasaliyāna Sāriputāna*' is preceded by the word *achariyāna*, which is exclusively employed with reference to a sect, there should be no doubt about the untenability of the rendering of Hultzsch, and that we have here an allusion to a Buddhist sect. This inscription, most probably, supplies a clue to understand as to how the Śaila schools originated. It appears that the hilly tract round Dhanakaṭaka (modern Dharanikota) was called Manāvanaśaila where the Mahāsaṅghikas owing to certain local differences, formed a new sect which came to be known as Mahavanasaliya or Mahāvanaśaila after the locality of its origin. Slightly later when they began to live separately in the two monasteries, one situated in the eastern part of this tract and the other in the western part and therefore known as Pūrvaśaila and Aparaśaila respectively, they developed certain practices peculiar to them thereby forming new sects which came to be distinguished one from the other by the names of their convents. This finds support from another inscription from Amaravati which refers to a Piṁḍapātika as residing in the great mountain-forest (*Mahāvanasalavathavasa*), and not in the hall in the great forest as Hultzsch would like us to believe.[94] If this interpretation be correct, and there is no reason to doubt its correctness, the inscriptions, it would be conceded, afford very valuable information which is missing in the extant Buddhist literature about the origin of the Śaila schools.[95]

In view of what has been said here W. Geiger's translation of the swords *pubba* and apara, forming the first component of the names of the two Śaila schools, as *'first'* and *'other'* respectively[96] is untenable.

The fact that the only known references to the Mahāvanaśaila school is found only in an Amaravati inscriptions would show that its following was confined to the Amaravati region. The monasteries to its east and west which gave rise to the Pūrvaśaila and Aparaśaila sects respectively cannot be definitely located. But as the latter, called Aparamahāvināseliya, is known to have risen to a predominent position at Nagarjunakonda which is situated to the west of Amaravati,[97] it is not impossible that Nagarjunakonda was the original home of this sect. However, the Eastern Convent, which was evidently situated to the east of Amaravati and gave rise to the Pūrvaśaila school, cannot be definitely identified.

There is some evidence of the presence of the Rājagiriya and the Siddhatthaka schools also in the Amaravati region, though we cannot be quite definite on this point as regards the latter which may as well have been used as a personal name.[98]

The Śaila sects along with the last two schools (Rājagiriya and Siddhārthaka) are collectively spoken of as the Andhakas (belonging to Andhra) in the *Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa*[99] which is indicative of their Andhra origin. From this Mrs. Rhys Davids concludes that the Mahāsaṅghikas were non-existent in Buddhaghosa's time. However, he refers to the Andhakas as existing in his time.[100] We may reconcile the statements of Buddhaghosa and Yuan Chwang (who specifically mentions the Mahāsaṅghikas) by assuming, quite justifiably of course, that the offshoots of the Mahāsaṅghikas in question came to be styled Andhaka owing to their origin and prolonged residence in Andhradeśa and in the absence of vital doctrinal differences they probably disappeared by the seventh century A.D. and again came to be known as the Mahāsaṅghikas.[101]

A very interesting feature of the Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda inscriptions is that they shed welcome light on a few points relating to the doctrines of the sects prevailing there. Some of the Nagarjunakonda epigraphs reflect contemporary notions regarding the nature of the Buddha as conceived by the Mahāsaṅghikas. They not only describe Buddha as omniscient and as endowed with the ten powers but also hint at his deification. They speak of him as honoured by the lord of gods, i.*e.*, Indra (*devarājasakata*) and as absorbed by the best of the *dhātus* (*dhātu-vara-parighita*).[102] As for other doctrinal points, as a consequence of his or her gifts and other pious acts the donor/donatrix expected merit which were supposed to be transferable at will to relatives and friends (*pariṇāmetunaṁ*). Thus, an *upāsikā* caused a *chaitya-gṛiha* to be erected with a view to secure religious merit for her father, mother, brother, sister and other relatives.[103] This idea of the transfer of merit, which is noticed in some contemporary inscriptions from the North-Western region of Bhāratavarsha, is an anathema to the Pali tradition where the maxim is *attadīpa attasaraṇa*.

Another doctrinal point alluded to in our inscriptions concerns *nirvāṇa*. The pious gifts are expected to produce happiness in this world and the next (*ubhaya-lokasukhāvahathanāya*) for the donor's relatives and friends and the wealth of *nirvāna* for the donor alone (*atano cha nivāna-sampati*-saṁpādake).[104] It indicates that the sect to which the donor was affiliated conceived the *nirvāṇa* as a 'positive faultless state'. The *Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa* mentions two controversies with regard to the concept of *nirvāṇa* as prevailing among the Andhakas. The Puvaseliyas regarded the *amatapada* or *nirvāṇa* as an object of thought of one not yet free from bondage.[105] Other Andhaka sects held the *nibbānadhātu* as good (*kuśala*),[106] a doctrine hardly acceptable to Theravāda which speaks of realising *nirvāṇa* within one's own self (*pachchattaṁ veditabbo vinnuhi*). The record, therefore, indicates that the donor belonged to some Andhaka sect different from Pūrvaśaila. Epigraphical evidence shows that the Aparamahāvinaseliyas had at least two establishments at Nagarjunakonda (Sites 1 and 9). At first they did not subscribe to the

worship of the Buddha image; but a section of them later adopted image-worship and a shrine to house a Buddha image was added later (Site 9); there was no such accretion to the monastery at Site 1, showing thereby that the original sect inhabiting this earlier monastery refused to accept the idea of image-worship up to the last and that, on this account, the Aparamahāvinaseliyas at Nagarjunakonda were divided into two sub-sects.[107] As we have seen above, we learn from the *Dīpavaṁsa* (v. 32-38) that the dissentient Vajjian monks did not stop after being outvoted by the majority of the Second Council and held a separate council called *mahāsaṅgiti* where different redactions of the canonical texts were compiled. This tradition is supported by the Nagarjunakonda and Amaravati inscriptions. Passages like *Dīgha-Majhima-nikāya-dharasa*,[108] *Digha-Majhima-pamcha-matuka-osaka-vachakanam*,[109] and *Dīghamanigaya* (*Majhima-nikāya-dharena*[110] are often found used with reference to the monks belonging to the Aparamahāvinaseliya school in the Nagarjunakonda inscriptions. The *Dīgha* and *Majjhima* are the two well-known *nikāyas* of the *Suttapiṭaka*. According to the Pali texts, *Mātuka*, which is a corruption of Sanskrit *Mātṛikā* or Pali *Mātikā*, is the same as the *Abhidhamma*. In certain passages in the Vinaya it is also used in the sense of the *Pātimokkhasutta* as well as Vinaya precepts without all explanations and other details. *Mātukā* mentioned in the Nagarjunakonda inscriptions may, therefore, refer to either the *Abhidhamma* or the *Vinaya*.[111] Now the *Vinaya-piṭaka* is generally divided into four or five parts, to wit, (i) *Pātimokkha*, (ii) *Vibhaṅga*, (iii) *Khandhakas*, and (iv) *Parivāra*; or (i) *Pārājika*, (ii) *Pāchittiya*, (iii) *Mahāvagga*, (iv) *Chullavagga*, and (v) *Parivāra*. The latter division is more common, and, according to the Chinese tradition, the Vinaya of the *Mahāsaṅghikas* also comprised five divisions.[112] Thus, the expression *pancha-mātukā* may mean either the Vinaya with five divisions or the *Abhidhamma*. It would, thus, follow that in the third century A D. the Śailas had their own redactions of the *Vinaya*, the *Abhidhamma*, and the Nikāyas of which the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima* are mentioned by name. This inference also finds support from the Chinese travellers Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang who refer to the scriptures of the Mahāsaṅghikas.

The Mahāsaṅghikas and in particular their Śaila offshoots, albeit essentially Hīnayānists in general outlook, developed certain doctrines which ultimately paved the way for the rise of Mahāyāna. The practice of the *Pāramitās* and the resultant ideal of Buddhahood formed an integral part of their doctrines. They were the first to conceive the Buddha docetically, and this concept was further developed by one of their offshoots, Lokottaravāda. They also effected semi-deification of the Bodhisattvas and postulated that mind is pure in its origin and becomes impure by contact with passions (*upakleśas*), the adventitious dust (*āgantuko-rajas*).[113] The Tibetan tradition would have us believe that the Pūrvaśailas and the Aparaśailas possessed a *Prajnāpāramitā* text in Prakrit,[114] which, like similar Mahāyāna

works, may have dwelt upon the concept of *śūnyatā*. As we know, all these are the mainstay of Mahāyānism.

Although the Mahāsaṅghikas were undoubtedly dominant in Andhra, some of the Theravāda sects are also known to have flourished in the Nagarjunakonda region. We have already referred to the Sīhala-vihāra, a monastery of Ceylonese monks, which undertook vigorous proselytising activities in distant parts of India and other countries including Ceylon itself. The Kuhalavihara, too, appears to have been under their possession. These monks are clearly spoken of as belonging to the Theravāda school (*Theriya*).[115] Another group of monks occupying another monastery at Nagarjunakonda and are referred to as convertors of Kashmir, Gandhāra, Yavana country, Vanavāsa and the Isle of Ceylon. The *āchārya* occupants of this monastery, obviously of Ceylonese extraction though not so described explicitly, are styled *Theriyas* (Theravādins), Vibhajyavādins and Mahāvihāravāsins.[116] Vibhajyavāda, 'the doctrine of analysis', is just another name of Theravāda. The Mahāvihāravāsin or Mahāvihārin is one of the schools that branched off from Theravāda-Vibhajyavāda in Ceylon.[117]

The Theravādins at Nāgarjunakonda, to begin with, shunned the idea of worshipping the Buddha image and the practice of the construction of *stūpas* with wheel-base and *āyaka*-platforms. But later an oblong shrine with a pedestal to support an image was erected within their monastic enclosure (Site no. 43).[118] The Mahāvihāravāsins, too, began with an orthodox outlook, but with the passage of time resorted to the practice of erecting votive *stūpas* and possibly also the worship of Buddha in an anthropomorphic form (Site no. 38).[119]

The Mahīśāsaka sect of the Theravāda group had also a monastery (Sites 7-8) at Nagarjunakonda. It had two large *stūpas*, but no *chaitya-gṛiha*, showing thereby its occupants' (Mahīśāsakas') aversion to image-worship.[120] We learn from an inscription that this monastery together with a pillar was erected by Kodabalisiri, a sister of the Ikshvāku king Vāsishthīputra Ehuvula Chāntamūla and the queen of the ruler of Vanavāsa.[121] This shows that the Mahīśāsakas had a settlement and enjoyed some support at Nagarjunakonda as well as Vanavasa in Karnataka which latter was a well-known stronghold of this sect.

The most revolutionary event in the early history of Buddhism which completely changed its character and outlook was the emergence of Mahāyāna which pushed into background all the above-mentioned older sects which, in contrast, came to be known as Hīnayānists. It is difficult to determine the exact date of the rise of Mahāyāna; but the *Prajnāpāramitā* text, which contains the earliest enunciation of the Mahāyāna tenets like non-reality of phenomenal objects (*dharma-śūnyatā*) absence of any substance like soul (*pudgala-śūnyatā*), the concept of countless Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, worship of gods and goddesses, and the use of *mantras* for securing emancipation, was rendered into Chinese for the first time

by Lokaraksha in A.D., 148 and it may, therefore, be reasonably concluded that the original text may have been composed by the first century A.D. or a little earlier. We may accordingly date the emergence of Mahāyāna about the beginning of the Christian era. And as regards the locale of its origin, the *Ashṭasāhasrikā Prajnāpāramitā* avers, in a prophetic manner of course, that it originated in Dakshiṇāpatha (Deccan), then travelled to the east (*vartanyāṁ*) and prospered in the north.[122] As we have seen above, the Mahāsaṅgiksects, who had made Andhra their home by about the Maurya period, and, in particular, their Śaila offshoots had prepared the necessary background for this epoch-making event. However, as in the case of other movements, the beginnings of the concepts, which led to the emergence of Mahāyāna can be traced back to a much earlier period. When Mahādeva questioned the infallibility of the Arhats, which was one of the important causes of the turmoil leading to the first grave split in Buddhism, he probably advocated the ideal of Bodhisattvahood leading to the attainment of Buddhahood. It is to be noted in this connection that Mahādeva is mentioned as a Bodhisattva in certain pro-Mahāsaṅghika and pro-Mahāyānist Chinese texts.[123] If this is conceded the beginnings of the Bodhisattva ideal, which was a mainstay of Mahāyāna may be traced as early as the fourth century B.C. The Sarvāstivādins laid much emphasis on the fulfiilment of the pāramitas which also contributed substantially to the development of the Mahāyāna doctrines. The Avadāna literature by then also laid stress on the Bodhisattva doctrine while still adhering to the orthodox tradition. The representation of the Jātaka scenes on the railings of the *stūpas* at Bharhut and Sanchi indicates the popularity of the Jātaka literature in the 2nd century B.C. The theme of these stories is the fulfillment of the pāramitas for attaining Buddhahood by Gautama in his former lives. If this ideal is democratised, it would greatly contribute to the development of the Bodhisattva ideal. The doctrines developed by some other Buddhist sects, including those affiliated to Theravāda, also contributed to the emergence of the Mahāyāna movement. The greatest contribution in this direction was made, as pointed out above, by the Mahāsaṅghikas. Although Mahāyāna thus came into being about the beginning of the Christian era, it took quite some time to become a mass movement and put into shade other opposing schools. Not only did Mahāyāna originate in the lower Deccan, it was also nurtured by many great savants, some of whom belonging to the Andhra-deśa. It is beyond the scope of the present lecture to deal with these subsequent developments.

Before we conclude, we may be permitted to refer to an important aspect concerning the adminisration of the Buddhist monastic establishments.

Some of our inscriptions contain allusions to various kinds of committees (*goshṭhīs*) which had an important say in monastic matters. This feature, it may be noted, is not known from any other source. A *goshṭhī* of the Arhats (*arahadinānaṁ goṭhiyā*),[124] the *Sīhagoṭhī* (Sanskrit *Siṁhagoshṭhī*)[125] and simply the *goshthī*

together with the names of their members[126] and the chairman (*pāmukha* then king Kuberaka)[127] are referred to in some Bhattiprolu relic casket inscriptions of the time of king Kuberaka. A *goshṭhī* named Vanda is mentioned in an Amaravati inscription of the second century B.C.[128] A *Bodha-goṭhī* (*Bauddha-goshṭhī*) is mentioned in a Sanchi votive inscription of about the same age.[129] These committees were evidently charged with the management of Buddhist establishments, both monastic and ecclesiastical. A noteworthy feature of these committees was the inclusion of persons other than monks amongst their members. In a Bhattiprolu inscription the word *samaṇa* is used as an adjective of a member (no. I), while another record from the same place (no. V) speaks of Kuba as the *sramaṇa* of the *goshṭhī*.[130] We may, therefore, conclude that such *goshṭhīs* included a monk/monks as member/members, evidently with a view to ensure that all its decisions were in conformity with the scriptural requirements. The mention of a separate *goshthī* of the Arhats seems to indicate that there were two committees for the purpose of monastic administration: one consisting of lay followers and charged with the external management (this, too, included a monk), and the other consisting exclusively of monks and entrusted with the responsibility of its ecclesiastical and internal administration. These *goshṭhīs* appear to have not unoften undertook the responsibility of building monastic and religious structures including financial and supervisory duties. Was this feature, which was nowhere more evident than in the lower Deccan, due to the democratic spirit inherited by the sects prevailing there from the avowedly democraticaily administered Vajjians? One cannot be quite sure on this point.[131]

Notes and References

1. My '*An Outline of Early Buddhism*' (Varanasi, 1965) was originally submitted to the Banaras Hindu University in lieu of a paper for M.A. examination in 1957.
2. Yuan Chwang refers to Tathāgata's visit to and exhibition of great spiritual powers and conversion of numberless persons at a place near Arhat 'O-che-lo's (Achala's) *saṅghārāma* in Andhra (see S. Beal, *Si-yu-ki : Buddhist Records of the Western World*, ii (Delhi reprint, 1969, p. 218). But the credibility of this tradition is extremely doubtful as it is separated from Buddha's time by over a millennium and goes against all early evidences. Yuan Chwang mentions such unfounded traditions with reference to some other places also.

   One of the faces of a late second century B.C. Stele depicts some events at Dhānyakaṭaka (Amaravati). See A Ghosh and H. Sarkar, "Beginnings of Sculptural Art in South-East India : A Stele from Amaravati", *Ancient India*. nos. 20 & 21 (1964 & 1965), p. 175, pl. XLII. As the scenes on the two fairly intact faces are connected with Buddha's life, one might be tempted to link the scene on this face also with Buddha. But there can be no certainty about it and, as surmised by Ghosh and Sarkar, it may have contained the representation of the establishment of the Great Stūpa in the construction or reconstruction of which the *goshṭhi* (committee) named Vanda played a significant role.
3. H.C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 6th edition. Calcutta, 1953, p. 95;

R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *A History and Culture of the Indian People* ii : *The Age of Imperial Unity*. 2nd edition, Bombay, 1953, p. 1.

4. Nalinaksha Dutt, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, i. Calcutta, 1941, pp. 191-93.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 193-95.
6. They actually met Buddha at Rājagṛiha. For an account of this journey, see Bharat Singh Upadhyaya, *Buddhakālina Bhāratiya Bhūgola* (Hindi), Prayaga, Vikrama 2018, dp. 32-33.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 447.
8. For an account of this council, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, *An Outline of Early Buddhism*. pp. 48-54.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
10. I.K. Sarma, "Epigraphical Discoveries at Guntupalli", *JESI*, v, pp. 50-51.
11. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, i, second edition. Calcutta, 1965, p. 36, text-line 10.
12. *Ibid.*. pp. 50-52.
13. *EI*, xxxv 211-218.
14. *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 39th Session, Hyderabad, 1978, ii, p. 973.
15. *EI*, xxxv pp. 40-43. The pillar fragment is of the fine-grained quartzite of the Nallamalai range and not of the Chunar sandstone from which other Aśokan columns have been fashioned and bears Mauryan polish.
16. *Ibid.*,. p. 43. For recently unearthed archaeological evidence supporting this date, see *Indian Archaeology 1973-74 A Review*, pp. 4-5; I. K. Sarma, "Some More Inscriptions from Amaravati Excavations and the Chronology of the Mahāstūpa", *Studies in Indian Epigraphy* (*JESI*), i, pp. 60-74.
17. I.K. Sarma, "Some Aspects of Bhattiprolu Casket Inscriptions", *JESI*, viii, pp. 23-25.
18. Most of the epigraphists are inclined to date Bhattiprolu inscriptions somewhat Later (post-Maurya period).
19. For a detailed account of the results of excavations, see S.B. Deo, J.P. Joshi *et al*, *Pauni Excavation*, Nagpur, 1972.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 117-118.
21. Recent discoveries of early Sātavāhana coins at Kotalingala in the Karimnagar District (*Numismatic Digest*, II, part i, pp. 10-13 and 18-21; part ii, pp. 24-33) and the description of the Sātavāhanas as Andhra-jātīyas in the Purāṇas are pointers in this direction.
22. *Cf.* names like Kṛishṇa Vediśrī, Lambodara, Skandasvāti, Śivaśri, Skanda and Yajna which are closely associated with Paurāṇic Hinduism. If the larger Nanaghat inscription really belongs to the Sātavāhanas, we may reasonably conclude that the early members of the dynasty prided in performing Śrauta sacrifices.
23. Attribution of the larger Nanaghat inscription to the Sātavāhanas has been recently questioned by Parmeshwarilal Gupta. See *Studies in Indian Epigraphy* (*JESI*), ii ,pp. 59-71.
24. Luders List, no. 1266; C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Governmeut Museum* (hereinafter referred to as Sivaramamurti), no. 18.
25. Sivaramamurti, no. 26.
26. *Ibid.*, no. 72.
27. *Ibid.*, no. 108.
28. *Ibid.*, nos. 97, 101, 108, 111, 114, 121, 124, etc. The genereal term used in this connection is *vāṇiya*.
29. *Ibid.*, nos. 86 and 97; Luders List, no. 1297.
30. Sivaramurti, no. 33.
31. Luders List, no. 1298.
32. Sivaramamurti, no. 119.

33. *Ibid.*, no. 124; Luders List, no. 1210.
34. *Ibid.*, no. 1921.
35. Sivaramamurti, no. 91.
36. *Ibid.*, no. 41.
37. *Ibid.*, nos. 7, 11, 31, 33, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 47, 48, 50, 51, 55, 56, 59, 61, 64, 65, 67, 69, 118, 124, etc.
38. *Ibid*, nos. 12, 16, 58 and 87. Nos. 12 and 58 specifically mention the *nigama* of Dhānyakaṭaka (Amaravati), while no. 87 speaks of the *nigama* as headed by a banker (*sreshṭhin*).
39. *JESI*, v, p. 52, no. 3.
40. *IE*, xxvii, p. 4, no. E.
41. Besides the Sātavāhanas, whose patronage to Buddhism is well known, other petty chiefs also contributed their mite to the growth of Buddhism. Particular mention in this connection must be made of king Khubiraka (Kuberaka) known from Bhattiprolu inscriptions. See *EI*, ii. p. 328, no VI; *JESI*, ix, p. 24.
42. *EI*, xv, p. 262, no. 3 (Pāṭaliputra). We find mention of an Ujjayinīupāsaka (an lay follower hailing from Ujjayinī) also. One of the inscriptions (Sivaramamurti, no. 73) mentions a certain Kaliṅgā which seems to point at the Kaliṅga region.
43. For a list of place-names from Amaravati inscriptions see C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, pp. 332-333.
44. This is indicated by the Nagarjunakonda inscription of Vijaya Sātakarṇi (*EI*, xxxvi, pp. 273-74).
45. According to one estimate, ninety percent of the donors at Nagarjunakonda were women. See K. Krishna Murthy, *Nagarjunakonda : A Cultural Study* (Delhi, 1977), p. 10. There were, of course, many other benefactors, too, most of them belonging to trading community (*EI*, xxxv, pp. 12-13).
46. *EI*, xx, pp. 22-23.
47. *Kasmira-Gaṁdhāra-Chīna-Chilāta-Tosali-Avaraṁta-Vaṅga-Vanavāsi - Yavana - Damila - Palura-Taṁbapaṁni-dipa-pasādakānaṁ theriyānaṁ Taṁbapaṁṇakanam.*
48. Jagayyapeta (Luders List, nos. 1202. S. 20-1204. S. 20), Kesanapalli (*Epigraphia Andhrica*, i, pp. 146-149) and Rentala (*EI*, xxxvii, pp. 29-32) have also given epigraphic evidence of the Ikshvāku patronage of Buddhism.
49. For an account of the dissentient activities of some monks during the Buddha's life-time, see my '*An Outline of Early Buddhism*', pp. 42-44.
50. The historicity of the First Council has been doubted by some scholars, but without any solid evidence to support their view. See *ibid.*, pp. 45-48.
51. For these deviations, see *ibid.*, pp. 48-49.
52. *Ibid*, p. 52.
53. For a detailed discussion of these traditions, see *ibid.*, pp. 50-54.
54. Vajjiputtakas were in all probability those Vaisālian monks who had accepted the verdict of the second council and given up the unorthodox disciplinany practices.
55. In inscriptions the name is spelt as Bhadavanīya. See D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, i, p. 205, text-line 10.
56. Of these the first six schools are said to have branched away directly from Theravāda and the next two from the Mahīśāsakas while the last three descended lineally from Sarvāstivāda, each succeeding sect being a break-away group emanating from the immediately preceding sect. For the original text and the chart, see my *An Outline oi Early Buddhism*, pp. 63-64.
57. The first three sects are reported to have broken away direct from the Mahāsaṅghika school while the last two are represented to have branched off from the Gokulikas. For details, see *ibid.*

58. See *ibid.*, pp. 65-66. The Northern tradition does not mention Gokulika, Bāhulaka, Rājagiriya and Siddpārthaka among the Mahāsaṅghika offshoots but instead adds Lokottaravāda and Bahuśrutīya.
59. This assumption is based on the accounts of the Second Buddhist Council according to which the monks from Kauśāmbī and Mathurā (the westerners) tried to dissuade the Vajjians from the ten unlawful practices and it were the defiant Vajjians who convened the *Mahāsaṅgīti* which resulted in the origin of the Mahāsaṅghika school.

59a. While the existence of the different Buddhist sects during this period cannot be gainsaid, their general non-mention (barring the solitary exception of the Kaśyapīyas mentioned in a Pabhosa inscription) in inscriptions may indicate that the sectarian bias was not very acute or apparent up to about the first century B.C. and was confined only to doctrinal matters and certain monastic practices with which the lay worshippers were not very much concerned.

60. H. Sarkar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India*, Delhi, 1966, p. 99.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 100. For the Stele, see A. Ghosh and H. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-177 and pls. XXXIX-XLIV.
62. H. Sarkar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India*, p. 100.
63. For references to them from other areas including the Uttarāpatha region, Mathurā and Karle, see my *An Outline of Early Buddhism*, pp. 88-90.

63a. *EI*, xx, pp. 17 and 19-20

64. Luders List, no 1240.
65. *IHQ*, 1931. pp. 747-748.
66. T. Watters *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, ii, p. 217.
67. *EI*, xx, pp. 23-24; xxi, p. 62.
68. *Epigraphia Andhrica*, i, pp. 146-149; *EI*, xxxviii, pp. 314-315.

68a. H. Sarkar, "Some Aspects of the Buddhist Monuments at Nagarjunakonda", *Ancient India*, no. 16 (1960), p. 69 and pl. XXXVIIIB.

69. Sivaramamurti, nos. 33 and 51.
70. *Ibid.*, no. 79.
71. Jas. Burgess, *Notes on the Amaravati Stūpa*, Madras, 1882, p. 26, no. 121; Luders List, no. 1248.
72. *EI*, xv, p. 274, no. 55.
73. Jas. Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 and 41.
74. H. Sarkar. *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India*, p. 101.
75. N. Dutt, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, ii, Calcutta, 1945, pp. 50 and 105.
76. The Aparaśaila school is often mentioned with the insertion of the word *mahāt* between its two components, *viz.*, Aparamahāvinaseliya. It may therfore, be reasonably assumed that the Pūrvaśaila school, too, may have been known alternatively as Puvamahāvanaseliya, though this form is not encountered in inscriptions.
77. *EI*, xxiv, p. 259.
78. *Archaeological Survey of South India, Annual*, 1923-24, p. 97; *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1923-24, p. 93.
79. *EI*, xx, p. 22.
80. Jas. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jagayyapeta* (*ASSI*, London, 1887), p. 105, no. 49.
81. *EI*, xx, p. 17.
82. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20, no. C. 2.
83. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22, First Apsidal Temple Inscription E.
84. *Ibid.*, xxxiv, p. 210, no 3.

85. Ancient Kaṇṭakśaila.
86. *EI*, xxvii, p. 4, no. D.
87. M.G. Dikshit, "A New Buddhist Sect at Kanheri", *IHQ*, xviii, pp. 60-63.
88. Cunningham (*Archaeological Survey Reports*, ii, p. 41) transliterates the Chinese name as Dhenukākaṭa, but Dhanakaṭaka seeems to be a more likely Indian rendering. In its Prakrit form it finds mention in some inscriptions from Amaravati.
89. There is difference of opinion about the location of the capital of the country of Dhanakaṭaka (for references, see my *An Outline of Early Buddhism*, p. 98, note 2), but like many other brilliant conjectures of Cunningham, his identification of Yuan Chwang's Dhanakaṭak (or Dhanakaṭa) with modern Dharanikota in the Krishna District finds support from the Dharanikota Dharmachakra Pillar inscription of the reign of Vāsishṭhīpura Puḷumāvi which clearly mentions the place by this very name (Dhanakaḍa). See *EI*, xxiv, pp. 256 ff.
90. Beal, *Si-yu-ki : Buddhist Records of the Western World*, pp. 10-11; T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, ii, p. 214.
90a. The Chinese form of the name should better be rendered as Aparaśaila.
91. *EI*, xx, pp. 10-11.
92. Jas. Burgesrs, *Notes on Amaravati Stūpa*, p. 52; *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amaravati and Jagayyapeta*. 105; Ludhers List, no 1230.
93. Burgess, *Notes on Amaravati Stupa*, p. 52.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
95. This suggestion was for the first time mooted by me in my paper entitled "Fresh Light on the History of the Śaila Schools of Buddhism", *Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference*, 20th Session, Poona, 1961, pp. 78-86, and late in my *An Outline of Early Buddhism*, pp. 96-100. It is gratifying to note that this view has been accepted by some later writers on the subject though without mentioning my writings. See H. Sarkar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India*, p. 101.
96. *Mahāvaṁsa* (English translation), London, 1912, p. 27.
87. H. Sarkar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India*, p. 101,
98. For full references, see my *An Outline of Early Buddhism*, pp. 95-96.
99. *Kathāvatthuppakaraṇaṭṭhakathā*, p. 52; Rhys Davids *Points of Controversy*, Introduction.
100. *Ibid.*, p. xxxiv.
101. Cf. N. Dutt in *IHQ*, vii, p. 649 : The inference that can be drawn from these statements is that either the *Mahāsaṅghikas* came to be called by their prolonged residence in the Andhra country as the *Andhakas* or the four sects that issued out of the *Mahāsaṅghikas* were, by their residence on the hills of the Andhra country, called the *Andhakas*. To reconcile the statements of Yuan Chwang, we may say that the *Mahāsaṅghikas* residing within the Andhra country were known as the Andhakas."
102. Ajay Mitra Shastri, *An Outline of Early Buddhism*, pp, 25-34.
103. *EI*, xx, p. 22.
104. Ayaka Pillar Inscr. C 3, First Apsidal Temple Inscr. F, etc. (*EI*, xx).
105. Rhys Davids, *Points of Controversy*, pp. 231f.
106. *Ibid.*, p. 339.
107. H. Sarkar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India*, pp. 76-77, 101, "Some Aspects of the Buddhist Monuments at Nagarjunakonda", *Ancient India*, no. 168-69.
108. *EI*, xx, p. 17 (Āyaka Pillar Inscr. C 1).
109. *Ibid.*
110. *Ibid.*, p. 19 (Āyaka Pillar Inscr. C 2).
111. See N. Dutt in *IHQ*, vii, pp. 643-644.
112. *Ibid.*, pp. 644-645.

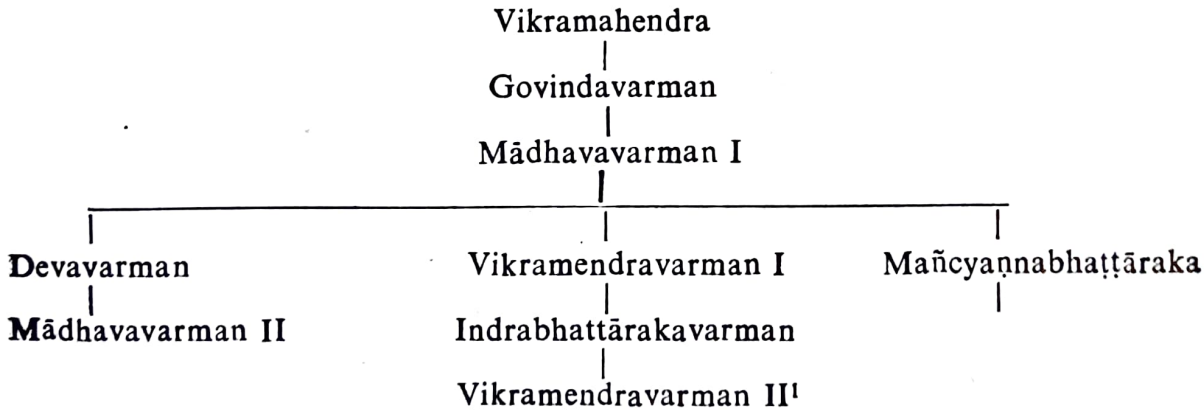
113. For a detailed discussion of these points, see N. Dutt. *Some Aspects of Mahāpāna Buddhism and its Relation to Hīnayāna*, London, 1930, pp. 4 ff.; R.C. Majumdar (editor), *A History and Culture of the Indian People*, ii : *The Age of Imperial Unity* 2nd edition, Bombay, 1953, p. 381.
114. Wassiljew, *Buddhismus*, p. 291.
115. *EI*, xx, p. 22 : Second Apsidal Temple Pillar Inscription F.
116. *EI*, xxxiii, pp. 247ff. T.N. Ramachandran, *Nagarjunakonda, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 71, pp, 36-37.
117. The view of D.C. Sircar and A.N. Lahiri that the word *mahāvihāravāsinam* in the inscription refers just to the inhabtiants of the monastery called Mahāvihāra mentioned in some other Nagarjunakonda inscriptions does not appear to be correct in view of the fact that the monks in question hailed from Ceylon where Mahāvihāravāsin or Mahāvihārin was a well-known Theravādin sect.
118. *Ancient India*, no. 16, p. 69.
119. *Ibid.*
120. *Ibid.*
121. *EI*, xx, p. 24; Detached Pillar Inscription H.
122. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajāpāramitā*, Engl. translation by E. Conze, Calcutta, 1958, pp. 79-90.
123. Etienna Lamotte, "Buddhist Controversy over the Five Propositions", *IHQ* xxxii, p. 156.
124. *EI*, ii, p. 329, no. ix.
125. *Ibid.*, p. 328. no. vii,
126. *Ibid.*, p. 327, no. iii
127. *Ibid.*, p. 328, no. vi.
128. Ancient India, nos. 20-21 (1964-65), p. 175, Inscr. H.
129. *EI.* ii, pp. 99-100, nos. 25 and 26.
130. *Ibid.*, p. 328, no. v.
131. Based on the first memorial lecture R. Subrahmanyam delivered at the R. Subrahmanyam Research Centre, Guntur, on 19.12-1983 and chaired by the late Professer T.V. Mahalingam.

8

FRESH LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF THE VISHṆUKUṆḌIṆS

The Vishṇukuṇḍins, who were political successors of the Ikshvākus, ruled over a substantial part of Andhra for over one and a half centuries during the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. The period of their rule was of great consequence in the early History of the Andhra region, and they are known to have come into contact with some other contemporary powers. Their chronology was, however, in an unsettled state and was roughly determined primarily with reference to their relationship, real or supposed, with some contemporary ruling families of the Deccan and South India. The recent discovery of the Indrapālanagara (or Tummalagudem) charters of Govindarāja and Vikramendravarman II has thrown welcome light on the chronology and early history of the dynasty.

The Vishṇukuṇḍins, who ruled over the Veṅgi region for more than a century, occupy an important place in the history of Andhra Pradesh. But the question of their genealogy and chronology, though studied by a number of historians, is far from being finally settled, and consequently widely divergent views are held by scholars. But the following genealogy, reconstructed on the basis of the copper-plate charters hitherto discovered is generally accepted by scholars:



The recently discovered Indrapalanagara (or Tummalaguḍem) copper-plate inscriptions of Vikramendrabhaṭṭārakavarman II and Govindavarman shed a flood

of light on several aspects of the history of the Vishṇukuṇḍins, their chronology and genealogy not excepted. These grants were first brought to the notice of the scholarly world by B.N. Sastry who published their Telugu transcript in the June and July 1965 issues of the Telugu magazine, *Bhāratī* (Madras).[2] Later, M. Rama Rao gave a Romanised text of these records and discussed their historical bearing at length in his paper entitled "New Light on the Viṣṇukuṇḍins" published in the *Journal of Indian History*.[3] B.N. Sastry and Rama Rao have earned the gratitude of all those interested in the history of the Viṣhṇukuṇḍin dynasty. The present author, however, finds it difficult to agree with some of the suggestions offered by Rama Rao and it is, therefore, proposed to discuss afresh some points of the evidence afforded by the two inscriptions with a view to throw fresh light on the Viṣhṇukuṇḍins.

The Indrapālanagara charter of Vikramendrabhaṭṭārakavarman II gives us the order of succession of the Viṣhṇukuṇḍins from Govindavarman to Vikramendravarman II through Mādhavavarman II, Vikramendravarman I and Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman. Vikramendravarman II is said to have adopted a certain Mādhavarāja as his son. Then follows the grant portion of the charter wherein we are told that the Queen Paramabhaṭṭārikāmabhādevī, descended from the royal family known as Pṛithvīmula, caused to be erected a monastery, known after her own name as Paramabhaṭṭārikāmahāvihāra, at Indrapura to display, as it were, the wealth of Śrī-Govindarāja. While returning after a victory over the Pallava King Siṁha (i.e., Siṁhavarman II), Vikramendravarman II happened to come to Śakrapura (Indrapura) where he granted to the *bhikshu-saṅgha* of the four quarters residing in the above monastery the village of Iruṇḍero. This event took place on the 8th *tithī* of the dark half of the month of *Karttika* in the expired Śaka year 488.

The other Indrapālanagara copper-plate charter informs us that the Viṣhṇukuṇḍin ruler Govindavarman, son of Mādhavavarman and grandson of Indravarman, gave away the village of Peṇkapara to the *ārya-saṅgha* of the four quarters at the monastery of his Chief Queen (*agra-mahiṣī*), Paramamahādevī, for the uninterrupted provision of lamps, incense, perfumes, flowers, flags, drinks and food, beds, seats, grass, medicine and repair-work in his thirty-seventh regnal year.

Rama Rao's view that Govindarāja and Govindavarman mentioned in these inscriptions in connection with the construction of and the provisions for the Buddhist establishment at Indrapura are two distinct personages and that the two copper-plate grants under discussion contain gifts to two different *Vihāras* at Śakrapura[4] does not appear to be probable, for there are good reasons to believe that the names Govindarāja and Govindavarman are applied here for one and the same person and that both the charters record grants to one and the same monastery. That Govindarāja was a Buddhist goes without saying. He is said to have adorned the whole of Dakṣhṇāpatha by erecting *stūpas* and *vihāras* inspiring

wonder, evidently by their grandeur ((*adbhuta-stūpa-vihāra-cuḍāmañibhir=alaṅkṛta-sakala-dakṣhṇāpathasya*, text line 25-26).[5] The finances for the construction of the monastery raised at the instance of Paramabhaṭṭārikāmahādevī were evidently provided from his exchequer (*Śrī-Govindarājasya mūrtimatīm śriyaṁ party=aviṣha-yikṛita*[6] *manorathaya*, text lines 28-29). That Govindavarman, the issuer of the second charter, was also a staunch Buddhist need not be doubted.[7] Like Govindarāja, he had also built and repaired *vihāras* and extended his patronage to the *bhikshus* (Buddhist monks). It is said that his wealth was *mohābodhi* which had come into existence for the protection of all the living beings (*sakala-sattva-dhātu-trāṇāy-otpādita-mahābodhi-vittena*, text-line 12).[8] His record opens with an invocation to the Buddha who had shown to the world the path leading to final beatitude (*nirvāṇa*). Lines 14 to 18 contain a beautiful eulogy of the Buddha. A certain Paramabhaṭṭārikāmahādevī built a monastery which exhibited, as it were, the great prosperity of Govindarāja; Paramamahādevī, the Chief Queen of Govindavarman, had also got a monastery erected at the same place to which a village was granted by her husband. It appears as though the second record confirms and clarifies the statement contained in the first one. It would also be agreed that there is no real difference between the names Paramabhaṭṭārikāmahādevī and Paramamahādevī. A perusal of Vikramendravarman II's grant cannot fail to leave the impression that Paramabhāṭṭārikāmahādevī, though not expressly stated, was the Chief Queen of Govindarāja; as if only to clear our doubt the second grant specifically describes her (here called Paramamahādevī) as the Chief Queen of Govindavārman. It would thus appear that Parama(bhaṭṭārikā)mahādevī, the Chief Queen of Govindarāja-Govindavarma, built a Buddhist *vihāra* at Śakrapura and to provide for the requirements of its inmates her husband granted a village. Later, Vikramendravarman II, the last known Viṣhṇukuṇḍin King, granted the village of Irundero to the same monastery. We think this assumption also can satisfactorily account for the otherwise confusing problems raised by the discovery of the two copper-plate charters in question. Or else we shall be landing ourselves in the absurdity of assuming that two Queens bearing almost identical names, *viz.*, Paramabhaṭṭārikāmahādevī and Paramamahādevī, had husbands of the same name, *viz.*, Govindarāja and Govindavarman, both of whom were Buddhists by religion and in some way or other connected with the Viṣhṇukuṇḍins,[9] and built a monastery each at the same place. The fact that both the records have been found at the same place also tends to show that they conveyed grants to one and the same monastery.

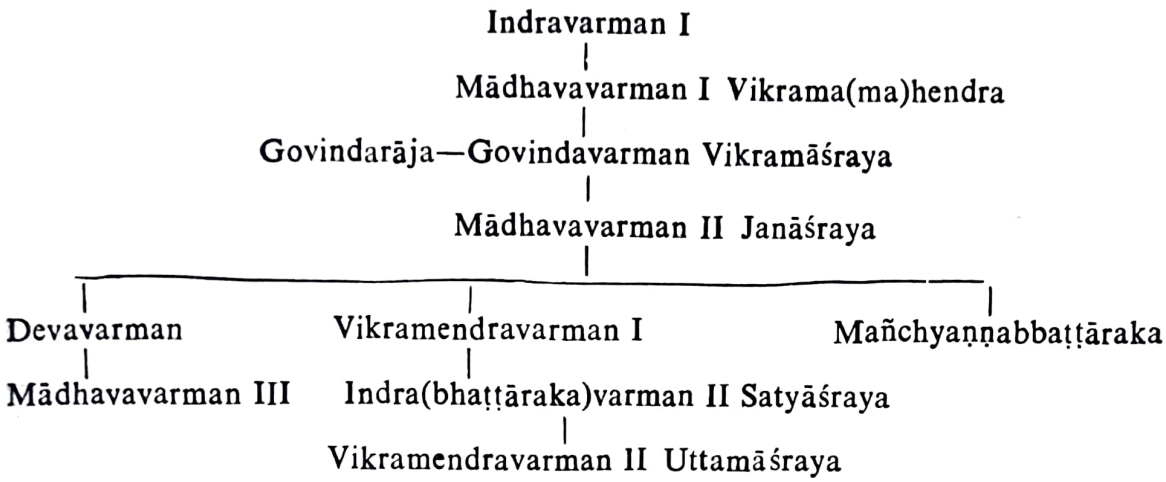
Next as regards the chronological position of Govindrāja-Govindavarman. The last known date of Vikramendravarman II is Śaka 488 (= A.D. 566) when his grant under consideration was issued. As pointed out by Rama Rao, the Viṣhṇukuṇḍins could not have ruled after A.D. 615 for Pulakeśin II was already in possession of the coastal districts of Viśākhapaṭṇam, East Godāvary, West

Godāvary, Kṛishṇa and Guntur by A.D. 617[10] Rama Rao places Govindavarman of the second Indrapālanagara charter in the interval between the last known date of Vikramendravarman and the occupation of Viṣhṇukuṇḍin territory by the Chalukyas.[11] But this does not appear to be correct. As we have seen above, this Govindavarman is identical with Govindarāja of the other record. His Chief Queen Parama (Bhaṭṭārikā) mahādevī had built the *Paramabhaṭṭārikā-mahāvihāra* at Indrapura, and he had himself donated a village to meet its various needs. Now, according to the scheme of chronology followed by Rama Rao, he flourished from A.D. 575 to 615[12] How could then Vikramendravarman II whose reign had come to an end in A.D. 566 grant a village to a monastery which was to be built by Govindarāja-Govindavarman's Queen? This anachronism goes against Rama Rao's view. The only way to steer clear of this difficulty is to place Govindarāja-Govindavarman before Vikramendra II.

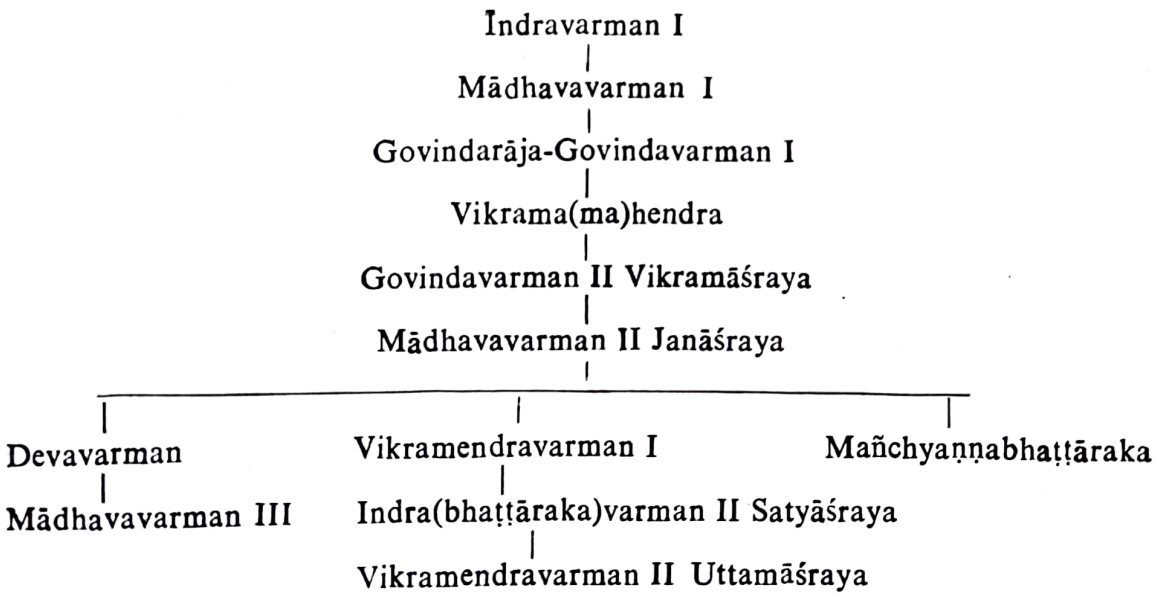
However, the moment we try to ascertain Govindarāja-Govindavarman's relationship with the Viṣhṇukuṇḍin dynasty we land ourselves in the midst of uncertainties. There is nothing to support Rama Rao's suggestion that Govindavarman and his predecessors[13] belonged to a collateral or *dāyāda* branch which usurped the throne immediately after the end of the reign of Vikramendravarman II.[14] On the contrary, a glance at the manner in which he is described in the records seems to indicate that he was a member of the main family. In the first Indradālanagara charter Govindarāja is said to have decorated the whole of Dakṣhināpatha with wonder-inspring *stūpas* and *vihāras*. He is described as the peerless *Kaustubha* gem in the centre of the necklace that is the succession of the earlier and later Kings of Śrīparvata.[15] The Viṣhṇukuṇḍins, it may be mentioned, are represented in their own records as devoted to Śrīparvatasvāmin. In respect of qualities, beauty and prosperity he is said to be equal to Viṣhṇu (*guṇa-rūpa-sampadbhir = anugata-Govindasya.* text-lines 27-28). Even allowing some hyperbole, such a description, particularly when it is found in a record of a member of the main branch as Vikramendra II undoubtedly was, cannot be applied to a collateral or a feudatory chief. In the second grant also there is nothing to indicate that he belonged to any collateral branch. Except for the invocation to Śrīparvatasvāmin, which is conspicious by its absence here, this inscription is like any other Viṣhṇukuṇḍin record. So far we know of two collateral families, one represented by Devavarman and Mādhavavarman III and the other by Mañchyaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka; but their relationship with the main branch of the Viṣhṇukuṇḍin family is definitely known. Had Govindavarman and his predecessors been collaterals, we should naturally expect a clear statement about their relationship with the main branch, which, however, is not the case. Moreover, like all the other members of the main branch, all the three rulers known from the second Indrapālanagara charter are styled *mahārāja*. There can thus be no doubt that

Govindavarman-Govindarāja belonged to the main line of the Viṣhṇukuṇḍin family. But to assign him a definite position in the main branch is not an easy task. However, the description of Govindavarman, the father of Mādhavavarman II, found in the first charter, very closely agrees with that of Govindavarman-Govindarāja. Like the latter, the former was a Buddhist and had much religious merit accumulated by building many *mahāvihāras* which in point of beauty rivalled celestial mansions.[16] It is not impossible, therefore, that Govindarāja-Govindavarman in question was none other than Govindavarman of the main family, well known from other Viṣhṇukuṇḍin records already discovered. There is only one difficulty in accepting this view. While according to the Ipur II plate[17] and Polamburu grant[18] the name of Govindavarman's father was Vikramahendra, the name of Govindarāja-Govindavarman's father, according to his own Indrapālanagara charter, was Mādhavavarman, and that of the latter's father, Indravarman. But this difficulty is by no means insurmountable. It seems that Vikramahendra of inscriptions is a mistake for Vikramamahendra, as already suggested by D.C. Sircar[19] It appears that like the Pallavas, Cāhlukyas, Rāstrakūṭas and other South Indian rulers the Viṣhṇukuṇḍins also were in the habit of assuming *birudas* or titles. It is known from the Polamburu grant that Govindavarman and his son Mādhavavarman were styled Vikramāśraya and Janāśraya respectively.[20] Similarly, Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman and Vikramendravarman II bore the *birudas* Satyāśraya and Uttāmāśraya respectively as we learn from the first Indrapālanagara charter. In view of this practice it is not impossible that Vikrama(ma)hendra might have been a title of Mādhavavarman, the father of Govindavarman, according to his Indrapālanagara copper-plate inscription. If this suggestion is accepted, it will be in accordance with the common South Indian practice of the grandson being named after the grandfather, for, according to this view, Mādhavavarman Janāśraya, son of Govindavarman, was named after his grandfather, Mādhavavarman Vikrama(ma)hendra. This reconstruction of history pushes back the Viśhṇukuṇḍin genealogy by one generation. So far Vikrama(ma)hendra was known to be the first Viṣhṇukuṇḍin ruler. But if we accept, as appears quite probable, that Vikrama(ma)hendra was a *biruda* of Mādhavavarman, the father of Govindavarman who issued the second Indrapālanagara charter, we get name of his father, i.e. Indravarman, who would now be regarded as the first known ruler of the family.[21] The Viṣhṇukuṇḍin genealogy formulated on the basis

of this reconstruction may be stated as follows:



Alternatively, it is possible that Govindavarman, the issuer of the second Indrapālanagara copper-plate grant, and his two predecessors flourished before Vikrama(ma)hendra. In that case this inscription pushes back the genealogy of the Viṣhṇukuṇḍin dynasty by three generations. The genealogy would then be as follows:



The earliest Viṣhṇukuṇḍin records so far discovered dated from the time of Mādhavavarman, the father of Vikramendravarman I. But if our view regarding the chronological position of Govindavarman-Govindarāja of the newly discovered charters is accepted, the second Indrapālanagara copper-plate grant naturally becomes the oldest record of the family found so far.

All the hitherto-discovered Viṣhṇukuṇḍin inscriptions described the first member of the family mentioned therein as meditating upon the feet of the Lord Śrīparvatasvāmin. Thus Lord Śrīpavatasvāmin was undoubtedly the *kula-devatlā* (family deity) of the Viṣhṇukuṇḍins. But the second Indrapālanagara grant which we have shown above to be the earliest record of the family, does not mention Śrīparvatasvāmin and begins with a verse in the Anuṣhṭubh metre containing an invocation to the Buddha. We may, therefore, conclude that Śrīparvatasvāmin was adopted as the *kula-devatā* first in the time of Mādhavavarman Janūśraya.

The Tummalaguden plates of Vikramendravarman II provide a hall-mark for setting the chronology of the Vishṇukuṇḍins. The Vishṇukuṇḍin chronology was so far determined primarily on the assumption that the Vishṇukuṇḍins were the immediate predecessors of the Chālukyas in Andhra Pradesh and that the reign of the last known member of this family. Vikramendravarman II, came to an end with the occupation of the Veṅgī region by Pulakeśin II in the second quarter of the seventh century A.D.[22] This was because the Vishṇukuṇḍin inscriptions reported so far were dated only with reference to the regnal years of individual chiefs. This inscription, however, gives a date in the Śaka era and thereby enables us to determine the chronology of the dynasty on more solid grounds. The grant recorded in it is said to have been made in his eleventh year which was coeval with the expired Śaka year A.D. 488 or 566-67[23] He must have, therefore, come to the throne in A.D. 555-56 His father, Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman, who preceded him, is known to have ruled for at least twenty-seven years.[24] Even if we believe that his reign did not extend beyond the twenty-seventh year, his accession will have to be placed not later than A.D. 528-29. Although according to some scholars, his father Vikramendravarman I did not rule as he predeceased his father Mādhavavarman II who had a long reign covering about forty years,[25] the assumption by him of the titles *rājan*[26] and *mahārāja*[27] should suffice to indicate that he did come to the throne even though he may have had only a short reign. Even if we assign him a short rule of some ten years, he could not have ascended the throne later than A.D. 518-19. His father Mādhavavarman II, who had a long reign of not less than forty or forty-eight years,[28] must have come to power not later than A.D. 478-79 or 470-71. In case he was preceded by Govindarāja of the second Indrapālanagara charter, as would follow if we were to accept the first alternative suggested above, the accession of Govindavarman-Govindarāja, who ruled for at least thirty-seven years,[29] cannot be dated later than A D. 441-42 or 433-34 His predecessor or predecessors, depending upon the alternative interpretations suggested above, will have to be placed still earlier. It must be remembered that we have taken into consideration here only the latest recorded regnal years, and some margin will have to be made for the extension of reigns beyond these years. Therefore, if we believe that Mādhavavarman I and Indravarman I

were the only political predecessors of Govindavarman-Govindarāja, the commencement of the Vishṇukuṇḍin power will have to be dated about the beginning of the fifth century A.D. In case, however, we accept the second alternative, we shall be forced to date the rise of the Vishṇukuṇḍins about three decades earlier, *i.e.*, in the latter half of the fourth century A.D.[30]

Thus, in the foregoing paragraphs I have tried to show that:

(i) Govindarāja and Govindavarman of the first and second Indrapālanagara grants respectively were one and the same person and Paramabhaṭṭārikāmahādevī or Paramamahādevī was his Chief Queen.

(ii) The grants contained in the two Indrapālanagara charters were made to one and the same *vihāro* at Śakrapura.

(iii) Govindarāja-Govindavarman of these records belonged to the main branch of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family and should in all probability be identified with Govindavarman Vikramāśraya, the father of Mādhavavarman Janāśraya. Vikrama-(ma)hendra was probably the title of Govindavarman's father whose real personal name might have been Mādhavavarman, who may be conveniently called Mādhavavarman I. Alternatively, Govindavarman and his two predecessors may be placed before Vikrama(ma)hendra, the first member of the family known so far. Thus the new evidence pushes back the genealogy of the family by one or three generations, as the case may be.

(iv) Indrapālanagara charter of Govindavarman is the earliest record of the family.

(v) Śrīparvatasvāmin was first adopted as the family deity in the time of Mādhavavarman Janāśraya.

(vi) We are now on surer ground regarding the Vishṇukuṇḍin chronology and know that the rise of Vishṇukuṇḍin power has to be dated about the beginning of the fifth or in second half of the preceding century A.D.

Notes and References

1. This genealogy proposed by D.C. Sircar (*IHQ* IX. p. 278; *Successors of the Sātavdhanas in the Deccan*, p. 104) is followed by V.V. Mirashi (*EI*, XXII. p. 19 and M. Rama Rao (*Vishṇukuṇḍin Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, Hyderabad Andhra Pradesh Govt. Archaeological Series, No. 10, p. 8). For a different scheme of genealogy *vide The Classical Age* p, 223; Andra Pradesh Govt. Arch, Series, No. 8. p. 11.
2. June 1965, (Govindavarman's grant); July 1965, pp. 2-14 Vikramendrabhaṭṭārakavarman's grant).

3. *JIH*, XLIII, Part III (December 1965), pp. 733-48.
4. *Ibid.*, XLIII, p. 745.
5. Unless otherwise stated, the references are to the Romanised text given in Rama Rao's paper. Even before the publication of Rama Rao's paper, one of my students had furnished me with a Romansed version of the text as published in the *Bhāratī*.
6. Rama Rao suggest that the correct reading should be *prativishayīkṛta ibid.*, p. 736, fn. 2.
7. He appears to have been a man of liberal religious ideas as he built temples, extended his patronage to the Brāhmaṇas and undertook activities of public utility.
8. The Romanised version of B.N. Sastry's text furnished by my student gives the reading—*mahābodh-ānvitena.*
9. Govindarāja is said to be one of the Kings of Śrīparvata which reminds of the fact that the Viṣhṇukuṇḍin rules are usually described as devoted to Śrīparvatasvāmin. Govindavarman, on the other hand, is clearly described as a Viṣhṇukuṇḍin ruler.
10. *JIM*, XLIII, pp. 742-43.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*, p. 743. Dr. Rama Rao places the two predecessors of Govindavarman between 566 and A.D. 575.
13. The inscription mentions Govindavarman's father, Mādhavarman, and grandfather, Indravarman.
14. *JIH*, XLIII, p. 742. The anachronism pointed out above completely upsets this suggestion.
15. *Śrīpārvateya-pūrv-dpara-kshitipati-paramparā-hāra-madhya-niru-pama-virājita-kaustubhāyamāna-yaśoianmanah*, text-lines 26-7.
16. *Shaḍ=abhijña-pratihāra-darśan-ānugraha-janita-Sugata-śāsanābhiprasādasya vibudha-bhavana pratispardhi-śobhā-samuday-aneka-mahavihāra-pratishṭhāpana-ādhigat-ānanta-brāhmaṇa-puṇya sambhārasya maharaja-śrī-Govindavarmmaṇaḥ*, text-lines 3-6.
17. *EI*, XVII, pp. 337-39.
18. *JAHRS*, VI, pp. 17 ff, D. C, Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 334 ff.
19. Ibid., 103. Alternatively he suggests that it may be a slip for Vikramendra in which case he will have to be called Vikramendra I.
20. *Ibid*,, p. 101.
21. It may be argued that if Indravarman, or according to our alternative sugggestion, Indravarman, Mādhavarman and Govindarāja-Govindavarman were predecessors of the later Viśhṇukuṇḍin rulers known from other inscriptions, they are not mentioned as such in other records of the family. But this argument carries no weight. It may be pointed out in this connection that Vikramahendra, the father of Govindavarman according to the I pur II and Polamburu copper plates, is also not mentioned in any other record of the dynasty.
22. D.C. Sircar, *The Classical Age* (ed. R.C. Majundar and A.D. Pusalkar), p. 211. Sircar dated the close of Vikramenpravarman II's reign in c. AD. 631.
23. *S-āshṭāśīti chatuḥ śate Śaka pates=saṁvatsarānaṁ gate* S. Sankaranaranarayanan, *The Vishṇukuṇḍis and Their Times.* p. 17 , text-lines 43-44.
24. Indrabhaṭṭārakasvarman's Ramatirtham plates were issued in his twentyseventh regnal year. See *EI*, xii, p. 133.
25. V.V. Mirashi, *Ibid.*, xxii, p. 20; *Studies in Indology*, i, p. 195.
26. In the Ramatirtham plates of his son Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman.
27. In the Tummalaguḍem plates of Vikramendravarman II. See S. Sankaranarayanan, *op. cit.*, p. 172, text line 10.
28. It depends on the reading on the reading of the regnal year in his Polamuru plates. K.V. Lakshman Rao (*Journal of the Department of Letters*, xi, p. 61, text-line 41) and S. Subba Rao

(*JAHRS* vi, p. 22) read it as 48, whereas D.C. Sircar (*The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Deccan*, p. 339) prefers the reading 40. Sircar observes, however. that the upper part of the symbol looks like 40, and the lower part like 8. Mirashi follows Sircar's reading *Vide EI*, xxii, p. 20. fn. 4.

29. This is the date of his Tummalaguḍem plates.
30. Some other scholars including V.V. Mirashi (*Literary and Historical Studies in Indology*, pp. 131-38; *Indological Research Papers*, pp. 121-441) and S. Sankaranarayanan (*op. cit.*, ch. i) have discussed the contents of the Tummalagudem plates. But we feel that our views are substantiated by the extant evidence.

9

VIṢHNUKUNḌINS IN MAHARASHTRA

The activities of the Vishṇukuṇḍins, who controlled a large part of Andhra during the fifth and sixth centuries AD, were not confined to this region. Their own inscriptions aver that Mādhavavarman II, the most powerful member of the dynasty, extended his dominions up to the river Narmadā, and the famous Haraha inscription shows that they clashed with the Maukharis. An attempt is made here to take stock of the epigraphic and numismatic evidence brought to light during recent decades indicating the extension of the Vishṇukuṇḍin authority over a large part of the region now incorporated in Maharashtra.

The period of about half a century after the eclipse of the power of the Vākāṭakas in the Vidarbha region and the Early Rashtrakūṭas in southern Maharashtra was till recently enveloped in total darkness. More than three decades ago, V.V. Mirashi, while editing the Thakúrdiya plates of the Śarabhapuriya king Mahā-Pravararāja,[1] suggested that Maharashtra was, during this period, probably conquered by the Viṣhṇukuṇḍin ruler Mādhavavarman II. His suggestion was primarily based on the description in the Ipur plates of Mādhavavarman II's homonymous grandson, Mādhavavarman III, as the lord of Trikūṭa which has been identified with the hill bordering the Nasik District on the west.[2] Later, this suggestion found some support from the incomplete Khanapur coppreplate inscription of Mādhavavarman[3] who, on the basis of his description as the preformer of the *Puṇḍarika*, *Baṅusuvarṇa* and eleven sacrifices, probably *Aśvamedhas*, was identified by the editors, V.V. Mirashi and Y.R. Gupte, with Viṣhṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman II. The provenance of this character, *viz.*, Khanapur in the Satara District of Maharashtra, and the mention in it of localities situated in the neighbourhood of its findspot are worth mentioning in this connection.[4] It is also noteworthy that Mādhavavarman II had married a Vākāṭaka princess, and his son, Vikramendravarman I, is consequently described as having adorned by his birth the twin families of the Viṣhṇukuṇḍins and the Vakāṭakas.[5] It was, therefore, conjectured that by his relationship with Vākāṭakas, Mādhavavarman II might have considered himself as a rightful claimant to the Vākāṭaka kingdom which he brought under his sway.[6] However, while some epigraphical evidence was available in support of the Viṣhṇukuṇḍin occupation of southern Maharashtra, as regards Vidarbha, this

could, till a few years back, be regarded at best as a brilliant conjecture as no definite evidence was available on this point. In recent years, however, some important evidence has come to notice which sheds welcome light on this problem. It corroborates the aforesaid epigraphical evidence as regards southern Maharashtra and clearly establishes Viṣhṇukuṇḍin rule over the Vidarbha region. This new evidence is discussed in the following paragraphs.

An exceptionally large number of Viṣhṇukuṇḍin coins has, of late, been reported from several ancient sites in Maharashtra. At first glance they give an appearance of being copper coins and look rather heavy in proportion to their size. But a recent metallurgical analysis has revealed a peculiarity of their composition inasmuch as they comprise an iron core with the coating of a thin sheet of copper on the surface.[7] Their discovery in numbers and at places wide apart from each other cannot be accounted for on any hypothesis other than that they represent the relics of the Viṣhṇukuṇḍin rule over this region.

So far as Maharashtra is concerned, the coins of the Viṣhṇukuṇḍins first came to light in the course of archaeological excavations at Brahmapuri, an elevated place on the western outskirts of the city of Kolhapur on the right bank of the Panchaganga river. Only a solitary coin was recovered in layer 4 of Square II. Although the coin is left undescribed in the excavation report, according to P.L. Gupta it bears a lion to the right on one side and a jar flanked by a trident on either side within the rayed circle on the other.[8] The older generation of numismatists attributed such coins to the Pallavas, but it is now generally recognised that coins of this type actually belong to the Vishṇukuṇḍins and have been reported in large numbers from the areas in Andhra Pradesh once held by the Viṣhṇukuṇḍins.[9] The discovery of this coin is very important inasmuch as it provides a missing link between the close of the Sātavāhana period and the beginning of the Śilāhāra period and affords necessary evidence for dating the layer in question in the fifth-sixth century A.D.[10]

Next to be reported was a couple of coins recovered in 1954-56 in the archaeological excavations at Nevasa in the Ahmadnagar District of Maharashtra. These coins were found in a stratified context from the topmost layers of Period V, styled indo-Roman or Late early Historical, and were associated with Red Polished pottery levels.[11] They bear a lion standing facing right, in its front a vertical linear staff with a thick dot capping it,[12] all in a circle on the obverse and a vase on a stand between two posts on each side, the entire motif in a circle with radiating lines on the reverse.[13] Following Walter Elliot, Vincent A. Smith and other earlier numismatists, these coins were assigned by the excavators to the Pallavas. But, as pointed out above, these coins are now commonly accepted to have been issued by the Viṣhṇukuṇḍins.

The excavators have assiged these coins to the 2nd-3rd century A.D. or later on account of their association with the Red Polished Ware levels.[14] But, as shown

above, these coins admittedly belong to the Vishṇukuṇḍins and are of great value in determining the *terminus ad quem* of Period V which has been dated by the excavators between 50 B.C. and A.D. 200.[15] The Vishṇukuṇḍins, however, rose to power not earlier than midde of the fourth century A.D. And if it is conceded, as it appears very probable, that it was Mādhavavarman II who occupied parts of Maharashtra, the close of the period in question cannot be placed much earlier than the beginning of the sixth century A.D.[16] Thus these coins are not only important from the historical point of view but also emphasise the need to modify the so far accepted chronology of Period V.[17]

Later, one Vishṇukuṇḍin coin of the usual type was reported from the surface of a low mound at Nagar in the Gondia Tahsil of the Bhandara District but was wrongly attributed to the Pallavas.[18] It was pointed out by the present writer that the coin really belonged to the Vishṇukuṇḍins and not to the Pallavas.[19]

Thereafter three Vishṇukuṇḍin coins presenting two new varienties were unearthed at Paunar in the Wardha District while digging foundations for a house and were published by the present writer. There obverse has the figure of a well-decorated lion to the right with gaping mouth, curled up tail and left fore-paw raised within a circle inside a dotted border or in a rayed circle, while the reverse shows either the axle of a wheel and a crescent with a dot placed in it in each of the four corners or a conch-shell decorated with some fillet-like objects within a radiated circle.[20]

About the same time another Vishṇukuṇḍin coin of the common type with the lion on the obverse and a vase-on-stand flanked bo the figures of a *triśūla* on either side, on the reverse, was found at some place near Nagpur.[21]

Slightly later, in 1967, two Vishṇukuṇḍin coins with their obverse peeled off and the reverse showing the motif of a diamond or an axle in relief with a pellet or dot over a crescent at the four corners, all depicted in a circle with radiating lines, were recovered in the top horizons of layer 4 of Period III, dated from *cir.* 3rd to 8th century A.D., in the course of archaeological excavations at Paunar.[22] At the same time a copper pot containing over two hundred Vishṇukuṇḍin coins with a bull or loin depicted in the manner described above on the obverse and an axle in relief, or a conch-shell or a vase-on-stand all in a circle with radiating strokes on the reverse was discovered at Paunar. The coins of this hoard, and for that matter the biggest hoard of Vishṇukuṇḍin coins so far discovered in Maharashtra, have been only casually noticed in the excavation report, and a full account of the same is said to have been reserved for a separate monograph.[23]

Another Vishṇukuṇḍin coin with a humped bull standing to the right and the the letter *śrī* above the back of the animal on the obverse and a wheel with prominent axle in a radiating circle on the reverse was probably found at Paunar[24] and has been published recently.[25]

Some Viṣhṇukuṇḍin coins of the lion : vase-on-stand type are reported to have been picked up from some ancient mounds near Nasik and preserved in the collection of P.S. Vaishampayan of Nasik.[26] However, these coins have not been published so far.[27]

Thus, we now have enough epigraphic and numismatic evidence to warrant the conclusion that a large part of Maharashtra including the Satara-Kolhapur-Ahmadnagar-Nasik and Vidarbha regions was once held by the Viṣhṇukuṇḍins. The presence of the numismatic evidence bearing on this question was first pointed out by us in 1966 and it has since multiplied manifold and it is quite likely that some more welcome evidence may come to light in future with the progress of archaeological research.

When was Maharashtra occupied by the Vishṇukuṇḍins ? Mādhavavarman II, who was the most powerful member of the family, is known to have come into contact with other contemporary powers and thus brought great reputation to the dynasty. He entered into a matrimonial alliance with the Vākāṭakas of Central India by marrying one of their princesses. This relationship was a source of pride for the family as would follow from the description of his son Vikramendravarman I as an ornament of the twin lineages of the Vishṇukuṇḍins and the Vākāṭakas in the records of his descendants.[28] He is said to have crossed the Godāvarī for conquests in the east,[29] and in a record of his great-grandson his kingdom is described as touching the Revā.[30] He alone of all the Vishṇuknṇḍin monarchs distinguished himself by performing a number of *śrauta* sacrifices of politico-religious significance including as many as eleven *aśvamedhas*.[31] We may, therefore, conclude that the extension of Vishṇukuṇḍin authority in Maharashtra took place during his reign. As we have seen above,[32] Mādhavavarman came to power not later than the eighth decade of the fifth century A.D. And he must have taken a few years to consolidate his position at home prior to embarking upon a career of distant territories. His conquest of Maharashtra may, therefore, be placed about the close of the fifth or early in the sixth century AD, immediately after the fall of the Vākāṭakas. In view of the pride felt by his successors in his marriage with a Vākāṭaka princesss, it is unlikely that he himself contributed to the collapse of the Vākāṭaka power. He seems to have taken advantage of the scramble for power following the collapse of the Vākāṭakas and the early Rāshṭrakūṭas and established his own authority over their former territories.

The Vishṇukuṇḍin rule over Maharashtra, however, did not last long. Neither has any record of any of the successsors of Mādhavavarman II been discovered anywhere in Maharashtra nor do we come across any allusion to their hold over this area except for the description of Mādhavavarman III as the lord of Trikūṭa which has been noted above.

Notes and References

1. *EI*, xxii, p. 20.

1a. This ruler has so far been generally described as Mādhavarman I, but the recent discovery of the Indrapalanagara plates of Govindavarman and Vikramendravarman II shows that he was the second member of the dynasty bearing this name.

2. *Trikṭūa-Malay-ādhipati*, *ibid.*, xvii, p. 338, text-line 5 *Vide* also *ibid.*, xxii, p. 20; xxvii, p. 316.
3. *Ibid.*, xxvii, pp. 312-18.
4. For the identification of these places, see *ibid.*, p. 316.
5. *Viṣṇukuṇḍi-Vākāṭaka-vaṁśa-dvay-ālaṁkṛta-janmanaḥ*, *ibid.*, iv, p. 196, text-line 10; xiii, p. 113, etc.
6. V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 211-12.
7. While publishing three Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins from Paunar, I had described them as of alloyed copper *Vide JNSI*, xxviii, pp. 164-65. But a chemical examination of a few Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins later found at the same site showed that their core is of iron coated with copper as per information kindly supplied by Dr. K.T.M. Hegde of the M.S. University of Baroda. Also see S.B. Deo in *Archaeological Congress and Seminar Papers*, p. xiv; K.T.M. Hegde, *JNSI*, xxxviii, pp. 180-83.
8. Ajay Mitra Shastri (ed.), *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and Coins from Excavations*, p. 130.
9. R. Subrahmanyam, *The Tundi CopperPlate Grant of Vishṇukuṇḍin King Vikramendravarman* (Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series, No. 8), p. 46; M. Rama Rao, *Vishṇukuṇḍin Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum, Hyderabad* (A.P. Govt. Archaeological Series, No. 10), pp. 33-35; Ajay Mitra Shastri in *JNSI*, xvviii, pp. 164-69.
10. P.L. Gupta's statement that the discovery of this coin "makes it clear that the Brahmapuri site was occupied by the Sātavāhanas only for a short time before they were eclipsed by the Vishṇukuṇḍiṇs" (*Coinage of the Sātavāhans and Coins from Excavations*, p. 130) is wide of the mark, there was a long chronological gap between the eclipse of the Sātavāhana power and the of the Vishṇukuṇḍins.
11. H.D. Sankalia, S.B. Deo, Z.D. Ansari and Sophia Ehrhardt, *From History to Pre-History at Nevasa*, p. 200.
12. A glance at the plate shows that the description of the obverse device is incomplete and defective. The left fore-paw of the lion is raised up, its mouth gaping and the tail curled up.
13. *From History to Pre-History at Nevasa*, p. 199. fig. 83, Nos. 1-3. The observation that "The coins beat no inscription and their attribution to the Pallavas is conjectural. Some specimens of this type...bear the inscription '*Sātaka*' and '*Vishamasiṁha*', showing that the type was probably started by the Sātavāhanas and continued by the Chalukyas", which is wrongly attributed to P.L. Gupta, is actually taken from C.R. Singhal's *Bibliography of Indian Coins*, Part I, p. 121, and is actually part of the summary of M.H. Krishna's paper published in the *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department*, 1940. p. 75.
14. *From History to Pre-History at Nevasa*, p. 200.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 67. On p. 70, however, the Period is said to range from *cir.* 1st century B.C. to 2nd-3rd century A.D. Later, in the light of subsequent excavations, the *terminus a quo* was brought down to about the beginning of the Christian era. *Vide Indian Archaeology, 1959-60—A Review*, p. 25.
16. As will be shown in the sequel, Mādhavarman II's reign probably began in the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. He must have spent some time in consolidating his position in his home province prior to embarking on a campaign of conquest of distant territories.
17. For a full discussion of this question, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and Coins from Excavations*, pp. 105-6.

18. *JNSI*, Vol. xxvi, pp. 240-43. Nagar, described as the findspot of the coin, is probably an error for Nāgāra in the same tahsil and district where important archaeological remains have been found recently.
19. *Ibid.*, xxviii, p. 167.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 164-69. The presence of Vishṇukuṇḍin coins in Maharashtra was noticed here for the first time.
21. *Ibid.*, xxxiii, part i, pp. 126f.
22. S.B. Deo and M.K. Dhavalikar, *Paunar Excavation*, p. 13. For the chronological limits of Period III, see *ibid.*, p. 7.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 14, Pls. xvii and xviii. Even though nineteen years have elapsed since the publication of the report, nothing is heard about the monograph on the coins.
24. The coin is said to have been obtained from the village headman of Paunar who might have picked it up from the local ruins. *Vide JNSI*, vol. xxxiii, part i, p. 80.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 80-83, Pl. IV 1. For another Vishṇukuṇḍin coin from Vidarbha, see *ibid.*, pp. 126-27.
26. Ajay Mitra Shastri (ed.), *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and Coins from Excavations*, p. 138.
27. The collection of my friend Shri Raghunath Sanghi of Nagpur contains a large number of Vishṇukuṇḍin coins of various denominations.
28. S. Sankaranaryanan, *op. cit.*, p. 169, text-line 10; p. 177, text-lines 9-10. Indravarman II's Ramatirtham plates also refer to this fact without naming the two families (*ibid.*, p. 166. text-line 4), while the Tummalagudem grant of Vikramendravarman II merely describes his grandfather as the son of *Vakaṭaka-mahadevi* (*ibid.*, p. 172, text-lines 9-10).
29. *Ibid.*, p. 179, text-lines 21-22.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 172, text-lines 8-9.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 159, 161, 169, 172, 176, 178.
32. *Supra*, ch. viii.

10

THE MAGHAS : A HISTORICAL RE-APPRAISAL

The Maghas, identified by common consensus with the Meghas of the Purāṇas, ruled over an extensive area stretching from the Vatsa (Allahabad) region of Uttar Pradesh and the Bandhogarh region of the Shahdol District of Madhya Pradesh to the Chhattisgarh region of the latter State for nearly a couple of centuries immediately preceding the rise of the Imperial Guptas. At times their authority extended to some other adjoining areas also. But they were rather late to find a place on the historical map of India, and many problems concerning them have been baffling historians for want of necessary evidence. Recent discoveries, particularly of coins, have, however, thrown welcome light on some of these issues, and we now know about them much more as compared to our scanty knowledge a few years ago. Here is an attempt to reconstruct, in brief, their history on the basis of the combined testimony of literature, inscriptions, coins, seals and sealings.

The history of the Maghas, generally regarded as identical with the Meghas mentioned in the Purāṇas, who appear to have flourished in the early centuries A.D. and ruled over an extensive area bounded by Bandhogarh in the Shahdol district of the present state of Madhya Pradesh on the south and by the Fatehpur district of the present state of Uttar Pradesh on the north, remained shrouded in obscurity till recently. Terracotta sealings of the Maghas were no doubt found in the archaeological excavations at Bhita,[1] situated at a distance of about ten miles from Allahabad, as early as 1911, but they could not be suitably attributed for want of knowledge about them. Even as late as the middle of the forties of the present contuary,[2] the Maghas were practically unknown to historians as vouched for by the fact that the coins of some Magha chiefs from Kauśāmbī in the British Museum could not be properly identified, and Allan had to content himself by noticing them as "Coins with incomplete legends."[3] But shortly thereafter new archaeological data in the form of coins, inscriptions and sealings made it possible to form an outline of the history of this dynasty which now came to be accorded a place of honour in well-known historical works.[4]

One of my recent visits to Varanasi incidentally resulted in the discovery of much valuable numismatic data concerning the Maghas. Shri Murari Lal Kedia, an enlightened collector of antiquities and a familiar figure in the cultural life of

the city, showed me a few coins which, he informed me, belonged to a large hoard. When realising their historical importance, I evidenced interest in studying them, he, through the good offices of my friends Dr. (Mrs.) Manorama Jauhari and Shri Om Prakash Jauhari, generously handed over to me the entire hoard for study and publication. As per the information supplied by Shri Kedia, the hoard was discovered at or within the proximity of Kauśāmbī (modern Kosam), about 30 miles from Allahabad. On a careful scrutiny it was found that the hoard, except only nine pieces,[5] contained only the coins of the Magha rulers with whom we are familiar from their inscriptions, seals and coins from Kauśāmbī, Fatehpur and Bandhogarh. There are, of course, a little over four hundred coins which cannot be definitely assigned to individual kings owing to a complete or partial absence of inscriptions.[6] Considerations of typology and fabric, however, leave no room for doubt they, too, are the monetary issues of the Magha.[6a] Some other new material bearing on this topic has also come to light in recent years. All this makes a thorough reappraisal of the history of the Maghas imperative and the following pages aim at it.

The dynastic text of the Purāṇas as reconstructed by Pargiter avers in the usual prophetic vein that there would flourish in Kosalā nine wise and powerful kings well-known as Megha.[7] According to Pargiter, the dynasties mentioned here, of which Megha is one, flourished in the third century A.D.[8] On account of the similarity of this dynastic designation with the word *magha* found suffixed to the names of some of the members of what is popularly known as the Magha dynasty, the Meghas of the Purāṇas have, by common consent, been identified with the Maghas.[9] Since the manuscripts of the Purāṇas give variant readings of the dynastic appellation,[10] it is possible that the original reading was Magha and that the substitution of the medial *e* for *a* is due to the copyists. Now according to the Purāṇas, the Meghas (or Maghas) ruled in Kosalā. In view of its mention in association with some areas of the Deccan like Mekalā and Nishadha and the Nala dynasty, Kosalā, in the present context, appears to refer to South Kosalā which comprised the Chhattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh and the Sambalpur District of Orissa. The findspots of the epigraphic and numismatic records of the Maghas, on the other hand, lie between Bandhogarh in the south and Fatehpur in the north with Kauśāmbī occupying an approximately central position. Bandhogarh, which judging from the provenance of inscriptions, formed the southernmost point of the Magha kingdom, is situated at a distance of a few hundred kilometers from the northern limits of Chhattisgarh. This discrepancy must be explained away if the Maghas of inscriptions, coins and seals are to be taken as identical with the Meghas of the Purāṇas. Three alternative explanations may be suggested. First, possibly the dominions of some of the Magha chiefs extended as far south as Dakshiṇa Kosala[11] or touched upon its borders though, it must be admitted, no record of the dynasty has so far been reported from anywhere within or close to

this area.[11a] Secondly, northern borders of Dakshiṇa Kosala may, at one time, have extended much further than the Chhattisgarh area so as to touch upon or cover the Bandhogarh region.[12] And lastly, it is possible that the Purāṇas have erroneously referred to Kosalā instead of Vatsa or some other geographical name as the dominion of the Meghas. Such errors are not very rare in the Purāṇas. And if none of these alternatives is found acceptable, the Meghas of the Purāṇas will have to be treated as different from the Maghas of our archaeological records and a search for the archaeological records of the Meghas will have to be instituted.[12a]

The inscriptions of the Maghas are dated in years which are counted in continuation from the preceding to the following reigns. They must, therefore, be referred to an era. But there is no unanimity about the reckoning to which these dates belong. D.R. Sahni[12b] referred these years to the Gupta era of A.D. 319-20 and so did Fleet while publishing a Kosam inscription of Bhīmavarman.[13] Now, the dates of the inscriptions of the Maghas range from the year 51[14] to 139[15] which, if referred to the Gupta era, would give A.D. 370-458 as the flourishing period of Maghas who will have then to be regarded as contemporaries of the great Gupta emperors Samundrpgupta, Chandragupta II Vikrāmaditya, Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta. The Allahabad region is known to have been included within the Gupta empire at least from the time of Chandragupta I.[16] The Maghas, whose records leave no doubt about their rule over the Kauśāmbī-Allahabad area,[17] would consequently become vassals of the Imperial Guptas. But of this we have absolutely no indication in their inscriptions which contain no reference direct or indirect to their supposed overlords. The mintings of the coins, on the other hand, clearly indicates their independent status.[18] Therefore, if we were to refer the dates of Magha records to the Gupta era, we would be landing ourselves into the absurdity of believing that both the Maghas and the Guptas ruled as sovereign monarchs over the same area during the same period. Consequently, the theory referring these dates of the Gupta era is untenable. Moreover, the Bandhogarh and most of the Kosam inscriptions of the Maghas are palaeographically and otherwise clearly pre-Gupta.[19] The typology and fabric of the Magha coins are also completely out of tune for the Gupta period.[20] The theory of D.R. Bhandarkar,[21] K.P. Jayaswal,[22] N.G. Majumdar,[23] A. Ghosh[24] and Krisna Deva[25] referring these dates to the Kalachuri-Chedi era of A.D. 248-49 fares no better. Barring these doubtful cases there is no evidence to indicate the prevalence of this reckoning in the Vatsa-Chedi region at such an early date. And secondly according to this theory also at least three Magha chiefs, *viz.*, Bhadramagha, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmavarman, whose dated inscriptions are extant, as well as probably the two Śivamaghas would become contemporaries of the powerful Gupta monarches Chandragupta I, Samudragupta and Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, which, as pointed out above, is incompatible with established historical facts. And lastly, all the other objections against the Gupta era theory are equally applicable

to this theory. Once the Gupta and Kalachuri-Chedi eras are excluded, there remains only the Śaka era of A.D. 78 to which dates of these inscriptions could be referred. And most of the historians including Moti Chandra,[26] V.V. Mirashi,[27] N.P. Chakravarti,[28] A.S. Altekar,[29] D.C. Sircar,[30] and a host of others[31] are inclined to refer these dates to this reckoning. This dating is fully in consonance with all the known historical facts. The stratigraphic evidence of excavations at Bhita and Kauśāmbī also favours this theory. At Bhita sealings of Bhīmasena and Gautamīputra Śivamagha were found overlying the Maurya stratum and at the level of the floor of Nāgadeva's house which appears to have been deserted, owing to some catastrophe, in the Kushāṇa period.[32] In the excavations at Kauśāmbī, sub-period V yielded coins of the Mitras and the Kushāṇas together with a seal of Kanishka. In sub-period VI Kushāṇa coins have been found along with those of the Maghas, whereas sub-period VII is characterised only by Magha coins to be followed by Nāga coins in later strata. The latest coins reported are those of Gaṇendra or Gaṇapatināga who, according the Allahabad pillar inscription of Sumudragupta,[33] was violently extirpated by the Indian Napoleon.[34] It leaves no doubt that some of the Magha chiefs were contemporaries of the later members of the Kushāṇa dynasty while other flourished after the Kushāṇa period and prior to the rise of the Imperial Guptas. We have no conclusive evidence to determine if the Kauśambī region was included within the Kushāṇa empire. Even if the Kosam inscription dated in the year 2 of Kanishka's reckoning[35] and his seal bearing the legend *Mahārāja Rājātirāja-Devaputra-Kanishkasya prayoge* unearthed in the excavations at Kauśāmbī[36] are taken to prove the inclusion of Kauśāmbī within Kanishka I's empire,[37] it may be reasonably assumed that the Kushāṇas over this region ended shortly after Kanishka's reign as no post-Kanishka Kushāṇa inscription has been reported from this area,[38] and the political vacuum was filled by the Maghas. Thus all the historical facts are satisfactorily accounted for by the Śaka era theory. Palaeographically also Magha inscriptions are datable in the 2nd-3rd century A.D. N.P. Chakravarti has shown that the script of the Bandhogarh inscriptions partly shows features of the Kushāṇa records but is on the whole more allied to that found in the cave inscriptions of the Kshatrapas of Western India and also of the cave inscriptions of the Western Deccan belonging to the second century A.D."[39] The Kosam records also exhibit characteristics of the Kushāṇa inscriptions. Although forms of a few letters appear to be more developed and of a few others are similar to those generally found in the Gupta records, the general palaeographical appearance is comparable with the Kushāṇa records. D.R. Bhandarkar[40] has rightly pointed out that the so-called typically eastern Gupta forms of *m*, *s* and *h* are found in a Mathura inscription of Kanishka[41] and both eastern and western Gupta forms of *m* and *h* are met with in the Jasdan inscription of *Mahākshatrapa* Rudrasena, dated (Śaka) 127 (or 126)[42] and that "there is no hard and fast distinction between the Kushāṇa and the Gupta scripts". V.V. Mirashi has also shown

that the forms of all the crucial letters found in the Magha inscriptions from Kosam may be traced in the Kushāṇa records.[43] As regards Magha coin legends, Moti Chandra has demonstrated that palaeographically "they can be easily assigned to the late Kushāṇa period."[44] Our hoard has introduced two new points which deserve notice in this context. The form of *h* on the unique coin of *Mahārāja* Magha is of the so-called eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet which as already pointed out, is already met with even in Kushāṇa inscriptions. The medial *i* on the coins of Śivamagha II is indicated by a curve emanating from the right end of of the cross-bar of the letter *s* and brought on top of the letter or lower down on its left. This feature is met with in the Gupta records and may, therefore, be taken to have developed during the period intervening between the end of the Kushāṇa and the beginning of the Gupta period. It would thus follow that no palaeographical difficulty is involved in accepting the Śaka era theory. The mixed dialect in which the Magha inscriptions are composed and the mode of dating followed in them,[45] as well as their general form also accord well with this theory. In short, this is the best hypothesis in the present state of our knowledge. The employment of characters similar to those of the Western Kshatrapa epigraphs also lends colour to this view.

However, the possibility of an hitherto unknown local era, commencing about the same time and perhaps resulting from the continuation of the regnal reckoning of the founder of the Magha dynasty, being employed in these inscriptions cannot altogether be ruled out. The final solution of this question must await future discoveries of a more precise nature. But the following historical outline is based on the assumption that the inscriptions are dated in the Śaka era or some other recknoning beginning roughly about the same time, *viz.*, closing years of the first century A.D.

The first member of the Magha dynasty known to us so far was Vāsishthīputra Bhīmasena[46] whose recorded dates are years 51[47] and 52[48] which, when referred to the era of A.D. 78, will correspond to 129 and A.D. 130 respectively. From the time of this chief we get some dated inscriptions which, supplemented by the evidence of coins and seals, afford us a fairly good outline of the history of the dynasty. But nothing whatsoever was till now known about the Maghas prior to Bhīmasena's reign. The Kauśāmbī hoard, however, contains a unique coin which sheds new light on the early history of the dynasty. Of copper and circular in shape,[49] typologically it bears close resemblance to standardised Magha coins both as regards obverse and reverse devices. Thus, on the obverse we have three-peaked hill on left and tree within railing on right in the upper part and legened in the lower part, whereas the reverse bears the figure of a bull standing to right. The accommodated portion of the legend on the obverse reads [*ma*] *harāja* [*ma*].

In view of the general pattern of giving legends on the Magha specie not more than one letter can be expected after second *ma*, and the missing *akshara* can, with a fair degree of certainty, be restored as *gha*.[50] The coin thus appears to have been issued by a ruler named Magha who may be justifiably credited with the foundation of the dynasty which came to be christened after him even as the Bodhi dynasty was so named after its progenitor Bodhi or Śrībodhī[51] and the Gupta dynasty after its founder Gupta or Śrīgupta.

It is noteworthy that in the coin legend he is given the title *mahārāja* which, in those days, is known to have been borne by sovereign rulers. *Mahārāja* Magha was, thus, an independent monarch, a fact also otherwise vouched for by his exercise of the royal prerogative of minting coins. In the absence of any other evidence he is merely a name, and we do not even know as to how long he ruled and who succeeded him.[51a]

Bhīmasena is the next member of the dynasty known to us so far. He has left a variety of records like inscriptions, sealings and coins which afford us much more information about him than we have about his predecessor. He was at first known from a painted inscription on the Ginja hill in the erstwhile Rewa State (now in Madhya Pradesh), some forty miles south of Allahabad, dated in the year 52 (= A.D. 130). This record gives him the title *mahārāja*.[52] Later, another epigraph of this chief, dated in the year 51, was discovered at Bhandhogarh in the Shahdol District of Madhya Pradesh. In it he is given the same regal title as in the Ginja inscription; but it also prefixes to his name the metronymic Vāsishṭhī-putra (born of a lady belonging to the Vasishṭhā *gotra*) which is not recorded in the other inscription,[53] He is also known from a circular terracotta sealing found in the excavation at Bhita. The sealing bears the figure of humped bull standing to left; a crescent under its neck; in front, a woman standing with her right hand outstretched and the left one on hip; behind the bull, a post or thunderbolt; in exergue strung bow and arrow and an arched hill. The legend on the back of the animal in Brāhmi characters reads *[Rā] jña Vāsasu(vāsishṭhī) puttrasya Śrī-Bhīma-sena[syā]*.[54] Another clay sealing bearing the legend *Rājño Bhīmasenasya* and the devices bow-and-arrow, a standard in railing on left and a *yūpa* (sacrificial post) in railing on right is reported from Rajghat (Varanasi) and has been attributed to the same king.[55] A few copper coins found at Kauśāmbī have also been attributed to him.[56] Although typologically these coins are somewhat different from the standardised Magha issues,[57] Bhīmasena's association with the dynasty, which is vouched for by other evidences,[58] need not be questioned.

The suggestion of D.R. Bhandarkar to identify Bhīmasena of the Bhita sealing with Bhīmavaran[59] is rendered untenable by the discovery of coins and inscriptions of both the chiefs which clearly distinguish between them and show that they were separated from one another by a long period of time. The difference between

the regal titles used in the Bhita seal-inscription and the Ginja inscription has led A. Ghosh to draw a distinction between the chiefs mentioned in those records; he calls them Bhīmasena I and Bhīmasena II respectively.[60] But this view is unwarranted. It is possible that the Bhita seal may refer to the earlier period of Bhīmasena's reign when he might have assumed the lower title whereas the inscriptions which refer to him as *maḥārāja* might have been set up later when he had assumed the superior title. Even such an assumption is, however, unnecessary; for we have examples of one and the same monarch using more showy titles in some records and less ostentatious ones in others without any indication whatsoever of fluctuation in his power or position.[61] It is held by some that the Kauśāmbī region was at this time under the Kushāṇas and that the Magha rule was consequently confined to the Baghelkhand-Rewa area with its capital at Bandhogarh where their records have been found. This view is sought to be supported by the absence of Bhīmasena's inscriptions at Kauśāmbī and the supposition that the Bhita sealing might have travelled to its provenance with a letter sent from Bandhogarh.[62] But the absence of Bhīmasena's epigraphs at Kauśāmbī is more than compensated by the discovery of his coins there which appear to indicate his hold over the Kausāmbī area. Moreover, as pointed out above, there is nothing to indicate the hold of the Kushāṇas over this region after Kanishka. N.P. Chakravarti holds Bhīmasena of the Bandhogarh and Ginja inscriptions and the Bhita sealing to be the same but suggests that "the Bandhogarh inscriptions definitely show that he had no direct connection with the Magha rulers of Kauśāmbī but was the father of Poṭhasiri of Bandhogarh line."[63] This view is unconvincing as the close similarity verging on identity of his sealing found at Bhita with those of Gautamīputra Śivamagha,[64] whose Magha extraction cannot be doubted, the discovery of his sealing in association with the undoubtedly attributable Magha sealings at Bhita and the find of his coins at Kauśāmbī clearly establish his association with Kauśāmbī and the Maghas.

The only known dates of Bhīmasena are the years 51 and 52 (= 129 and A.D. 130), while the earliest recorded date of the next member of the dynasty is the year 81 (= A.D. 159). Consequently while it is not possible, in the present state of insufficient information, to ascertain the length of Bhīmasena's regnal period, there is no doubt that his reign came to a close sometime in or prior to the year 81.

We learn from the Bandhogarh inscriptions that Bhīmasena was succeeded by his son *mahārāja* Kochhiputa (Kautsīputra) Poṭhasiri (Praushṭhaśrī). We have as many as ten inscriptions of his reign at Bandhogarh.[65] Some of these records are dated, their dates ranging from the year 86 to 88.[66] Copper coins from Bhita excavations on which the legend has been deciphered as *Prashṭhaśriya*[67] appear to belong to him. The same is true of the coins from Kauśāmbī on which the name of the issuing chief has been doubtfully read as Pushvaśrī.[68] As against this, some

inscriptions found at Kosam and dated in the year 81[69] to 83[70] 86[71] and 87[72] clearly indicate that another member of the dynasty' Bhadramagha, had come to power in the Kauśāmbī region a few years prior to Poṭhasiri and was the latter's contemporary for some time. The title *mahārāja* employed for him in these records shows that he was ruling as an independent monarch. Some scholars identify him with *mahārāja* Bhaṭṭadeva,[73] probably son of Poṭhasiri, who is known from some inscriptions[74] to have been ruling over the Bandhogarh region in the year 90[75] and seek to explain the riddle of the overlapping of the dates (86. 87, 88) of the father (Poṭhasiri) and those (81, 83, 86, 87, 90) of the son (Bhaṭṭadeva-Bhadramagha) by assuming that the former might have permitted the latter to rule at Kauśāmbī practically as an independent ruler even during his own life-time in recognition of the extension by him of the kingdom beyond Kauśāmbī by ousting the Kushāṇa rule from there.[76] Mirashi reads the name of the son and successor of Poṭhasiri as Bhaddadeva whom he identifies with Bhandramagha and explains away the puzzle of overlapping dates by the theory of joint rule.[77] But the theory appears untenable. The reading of the name of Poṭhasiri's son in the Bandhogarh inscriptions is doubtful. In case the correct reading is Bhaṭṭadeva, the difference between their names in question will suffice to preclude the suggested identification. And even if Bhaddadeva be the correct reading, why the king should refer to himself in all the four Kosam inscriptions and coin-legends as Bhadramagha and only in two later Bandhogarh inscriptions as Bhaddadeva is inexplicable. The theory of the expulsion of the Kushāṇas from the Kauśāmbī area by Bhadramagha is negatived by the discovery of the coins of *Mahārāja* Magha and Bhīmasena at Kauśāmbī itself and of the latter's sealing in the excavations at Bhita to which reference has been made earlier, and which clearly prove the inclusion of the Kauśāmbī region within the Magha kingdom from the very beginning. Bajpai proposes to further identify Bhadramagha with *Mahāsenāpati* Bhadrabala, the father of *Rājan* Vaiśravaṇa, mentioned in a Bandhogarh inscription[78] and surmises that "Bhadrabala was his personal name and that after he ascended the throne he was called Bhadramagha like several other rulers of the dynasty."[79] The conjecture is certainly ingenious; but its acceptance would involve us in the difficulty of reconciling the rather strange facts that while in his own inscriptions Bhadramagha is styled *mahārāja*, in the inscription of his son and successor he is referred to only as *mahāsenāpati* without any regal title. Even if it is assumed for argument's sake that Bhadramagha began his career as a commander of the army under some chief, it will be inexplicable as to why Bhadramagha himself did not use the title *mahāsenāpati* and it was left to his son to unearth the long-buried title and use it for his father in preference to the title *mahārāja*. It is hardly expected that a son should deliberately suppress his father's dignified status.[80] Secondly, it has also to be explained as to why the son preferred to mention his father by a name that was given up by the latter in favour of the coronation name Bhadramagha. Thus these theories fail to afford a satisfactory answer to the problem of overlapping dates.

D.C. Sircar has suggested that Bhadramagha, who may have been Bhīmasena's younger step-brother or Praushṭhaśrī's elder step-brother, was the immediate successor of Bhīmasena. But Praushṭhaśrī rebelled against Bhadramagha and declared himself king in the southern part of the kingdom about the closing years of the latter's reign and later extended his authority over the Kauśāmbī region also.[81] It is epually likely, however, that after Bhīmasena the Magha kingdom was parcelled out between Bhadramagha and Praushṭhaśrī who were probably brothers, Bhadramagha exercising sway over the Kauśāmbi region and Prauhṭhaśrī over the Bandhogarh area. After Bhadramagha's death Praushṭhaśrī annexed the Kauśāmbī area also as indicated by the discovery of his coins at Bhita. It is pertinent to note in this connection that no evidence of Bhadramagha's rule has so far been found at Bandhogarh. There is nothing to support N.P. Chakravarti's view that Poṭhasiri had no connection with Kauśāmbī.[82] In fact, this connection is established by his coins found at Bhita and occasionally reported from Kauśāmbī itself.[82a]

Praushṭhaśrī was probably succeeded[83] in the southern part of the kingdom by his son Kausikiputra Bhaṭṭadeva[84] who is known from a couple of inscriptions at Bandhogarh.[85] one of which is dated in the year 90 (= A.D. 168.)[86] Nothing more is known about him.

Clay sealings disclose the existence of two rulers named Śivamagha. Two terracotta sealings from Bhita refer to *Mahārāja* Gutamīputra Śivamagha,[87] while a clay sealing mentioning *Ṛājan* Kaustīputra Śivamagha was unearthed in the excavations at Rajghat, which represents the ancient site of Varanasi.[88] The difference in metronymics leaves no room for doubt that the two chiefs, though belonging to the same line as indicated by their name-ending, must be distinguished from each other. However, no attempt was so far made to distinguish the coins of the two, and all the coins giving the name of Śivamagha were indiscriminately attributed to one and the same ruler. A careful study of the coins bearing this name in our hoard clearly shows that they can not be attributed to the same king. On some coins with this name the medial *i* or *śi* is indicated by a small vertical stroke attached to the right of the letter *ś* and joined to it by a short horizontal line which is really just an extension of the cross-bar of *ś*. On other pieces the vertical stroke has developed a very strong curve going on top and many a time even to the left of the letter. This significant feature leaves no room for doubt that the issues with the first form of medial sign for *i* must be ascribed to a chief who flourished earlier than the one on whose coins we come across the second form. Accordingly, the chief represented by the first set of coins must be styled Śivamagha I and that by the second set. Śivamagha II. Both these rulers claim a fairly large number of coins in our hoard, there being 352 coins of Śivamagha I and 617 of Śivamagha II.[88a]

Is it possible to identify his two Śivamaghas of the specie with those known from seal-inscriptions? The Śivamagha of the Rajghat sealing had the metronymic Kautsīputra attached to his name. The same metronymic is found used in Prakritised form (Kochhiputra) for Bhīmasena's son Poṭhasiri (Praushṭhaśrī) in some inscriptions at Bandhogarh.[89] As we have seen above, Bhadramagha is also styled Kautsiputra. It is likely, therefore, that Bhadramagha, Praushṭhaśrī and Kaustīputra Śivamagha were uterine brothers. As we have seen above, Bhīmasena was followed by Bhadramagha,[90] in the Kauśāmbī region and the latter appears to have been supplanted by Praushṭhaśrī[91] who had earlier established himself in in the Bandhogarh region. As will be shown later Śivamagha I of our coin flourished before Vaiśravaṇa who is the next ruler after Praushṭhaśrī whose dated records are extant. It would thus follow that Kautsīputra Śivamagha has to be identified with Śivamagha I. Likewise Sivamagha II may be identified with the only other known Sivamagha, *viz.*, Gautamīputra Sivamagha.

A fragmentary inscription of a Śivamagha, styled *Mahārāja*, has been found at Bandhogarh.[92] In the absence of metronymic it is difficult to identify him definitely. The same is the case with *Mahārāja* Śivamagha mentioned in a Kosam inscription.[93] As the date portion of both these inscriptions is damaged,[94] there is divergence of opinion regarding his position in the dynasty. According to some scholars. Śivamagha lived before Vaiśravaṇa,[95] while others argue in favour of placing him after the latter.[96] While discussing this question, scholars beleived in the existence of only one king of this name. The now established fact that there were two Śivamaghas, a Kautsīputra and a Gautamīputra, whose coins can be definitely distinguished has added a few dimension to this question inasmuch as we are now faced with the problem of ascertaining the chronological position of the two rulers of this name. Fortunately, the hoard in question has yielded an important evidence which sheds welcome light on this issue. The present hoard contains a couple of coins of Śivamagha I (Kausīputra Śivamagha) which appear to have been restruck by Vaiśravaṇa. While the obverse of these coins gives the name of Śivamagha (I), on the reverse we get the name of Vaisravaṇa. On the reverse on one coin we find the last three *aksharas* of the name, whereas the first *akshara* is preserved on the other coin. The obverse of these coins has become flattened due to the forceful striking of Vaiśravaṇa's die on the other side.[96a] We are thus led to the conclusion that Śivamagha I intervened betweeen Praushṭhaśrī and Vaiśravaṇa.

Whether Śivamagha I assumed power at Kauśāmbī immediately after his brother Prushṭhaśrī's death or after Bhaṭṭadeva, cannot be ascertained in the present state of insufficicnt information. Likewise, whether the discovery of this sealing at Rajghat indicates the extension of his authority, at least for some time, over the Varanasi region also does not admit of a definite answer.[97] We cannot

also be sure as to the length of his regnal period. But his reign certainly came to an end sometime in or before the year 107 (≡ A.D. 185), which is the only known date of the next king Vaiśravaṇa.[98] Vaisravaṇa's inscriptions have been found both at Kosam[99] and Bandhogarh,[100] indicating thereby that he ruled over the undivided kingdom including both the northern and southern wings. According to a couple of inscriptions at Bandhogarh, in one of which he is given the title *Rājan*,[101] he was son of Bhadrabāla.[102] who is styled *Mahāsenāpati*.[103] This fact appears to have been mentioned in a fragmentary inscription from Kosam also,[104] which forestalls the distinction between *Rājan* Vaiśravaṇa ot the Bandhogarh inscriptions and *Mahārāja* Vaiśravaṇa of the Kosam inscription of the year 107, as suggested by some writers.[105] We have already seen that the identification of Bhadrabāla with Bhadramagha and Bhaṭṭadeva is unfounded. We have absoutely no information regarding the circumstances under which Vaiśravaṇa came to power. In case his restriking of the coins of Śivamagha I is, as usual, taken to indicate a forcible occupation, his accession was evidently not smooth. It is not unlikely, therefore, that, like his father Bhadrabāla, Vaiśravaṇa also was at first an army commander under Śivamagha I and at a later date occupied the Magha throne by ousting his master. However, the restriking admits of other interpretations also, and it is equally likely that *Mahāsenāpati* Bhadrabāla may have been a collateral member of the dynasty, and his son Vaiśravaṇa may have ascended after Śivamagha I who probably died without a male issue to succeed him.[106] We find it difficult to accept D.C. Sircar's view that "Vaiśravaṇa may have at first been the viceroy of the Kauśāmbī kings in the southern part of their kingdom; but he later established himself on the throne of his masters".[107] This view is evidently based, among other things, on the difference, between the titles *Rājan* and *Mahārāja*. But as pointed out earlier in connection with Bhīmasena, we need not of necessity read too much in this difference. Altekar's statement that it was during the reign of Vaiśravaṇa that the northern boundary of the Magha kingdom was pushed to Fatehpur[108] is contradicted by the Fatehpur hoard itself which contained some coins of Bhadramagha and Śivamagha both of whom, according to Altekar himself, flourished before Vaiśravaṇa. Vaiśravaṇa was probably succeeded by Śivamagha II as indicated by the presence of a coin of Vaiśravaṇa restruck by Śivamagha II in the Kauśāmbī hoard.

Śivamagha II was probably followed by *Mahārāju* Bhīmavarman who is known from three Kauśāmbī inscriptions of the years 122 (=A.D. 200),[109] 130 (=A.D. 208)[110] and 139 (=A.D. 217).[111] That he belonged to the same dynasty,[112] seems to be indicated considerations of fabric and typology of his coins which are exactly similar to those of other Magha kings. The nature of relationship between him and Śivamagha II and whether he was the immediate successor of the latter cannot be ascertained in the absence of necessary evidence on the point.[113] He is the last known Magha chief whose dated records are extant.

We also know of a few other chiefs who, judging from their name-ending *magha*, definitely belonged to the Magha dynasty. All our knowledge regarding them is derived from the coins and sealings left by them; but they remain shadowy figures as in the absence of epigraphical records it is not possible to determine their mutual relationship and chronological order. Vijayamagha is known from a few coins published earlier[114] and a couple of coins in the present hoard.[114a] His name has been doubtfully read on a terracotta sealing from Kauśāmbī, now deposited in the Allahabad Museum.[115] In the legend on the sealing he is given the title *mahārāja* and the metronymic Gautamīputra. If the sealing really belongs to him, he may have had something to do with Śivamagha II who also had the metronymic Gautamīputra. Lack of relevant evidence precludes greater precision on this point. Names of Jayamagha,[116] Śatamagha,[117] Puramagha[118] and Yagamagha[119] have also been deciphered on a few coins hailing from Kauśāmbī. Published illustrations of some of these coins being very poor, it is not possible to check the veracity of the proposed readings of their legends. The difficulty is further aggravated by the fact that the present whereabouts of most of these coins are not known. Altekar read the name Pushvaśrī on a few coins[120] and suggested that "it is very probably that he was ruling at Kauśāmbī by the middle of the fourth century".[121] But as pointed out above, the correct reading of the name seems to be Praushthaśrī whose coins were found in the excavations at Bhita and the Prakrit form of whose name (Pothasiri) appears in some Bandhogarh inscriptions.[121a] That *Mahāsenāpati* Rudramagha, known from a clay sealing reported from Rajghat,[122] was a member of the Magha ruling family need not be doubted. But in the absence of regal title it is not possible to decide whether he was only a commander of armies or rose to the position of a king. At the moment we can only say that during the period to which this sealing belongs he occupied only the office of the chief commander of the army. A clay seal from Kausāmbī gives us the name of Parṇamagha who, judging from his name, undoubtedly belonged to the Magha family. But as no title is attached to his name, it is not possible to ascertain his position,[123] Some other clay sealings from Rajghat afford us the name of Krishṇasena[124] and Harisheṇa[125] in the genitive singular without any title prefixed to them. On the basis of the occurrence of certain devices of Magha sealings on these sealings[126] Moti Chandra hinted at the possibility of these chiefs representing a branch or the Magha dynasty.[127] Attention has, in this connection, been also invited to the name-ending *sena* which is found in the name of another Magha chief, *viz*,, Bhīmasena.[128] But the occurrence of a common device alone can hardly provide a solid basis for determining the family of a personage, while the absence of regal title renders all speculation in this matter unwarranted. Mirashi thinks that Balavarman, who is referred to in the celebrated Allahabad Pillar Inscription as one of the kings of Āryāvarta violently exterminated by the Gupta emperor Samudragupta,[129] also belonged to the Magha dynasty.[130] He also regards *Māharāja* Lakshmaṇa, known from a couple of copper-plate charters dated in the

year 158, one found at Pali near Kosam[131] and the other at Sangrauli in the erstwhile Rewa state,[132] as a member of the same dynasty and places him after Vijayamagha.[133] Since no evidence has been adduced in support of this contention,[134] it is difficult to arrive at any conclusion on this issue. The kings Nava, Navika and Dhanadeva, whose existence is revealed by coins bearing devices similar to those noticed on Magha issues, are also believed by some to have belonged to the Magha dynasty.[135] But in the absence of corroborative evidence it is difficult to be sure on this point.

We, thus, have several chiefs who are believed to have flourished after Bhīmavarman and belonged to the Magha dynasty. While the attribution of Krishṇasena, Harisheṇa, Balavarman and Lakshmaṇa to the dynasty is highly problematical and unwarranted in the present state of inadequate information, the rest undoubtedly belonged to the dynasty as indicated by their name-ending *magha* and coin-types. But in the absence of dated records even these rulers are nothing more than mere names, and for more light on them we must wait for future discoveries. The only thing that can be averred with a fair degree of certitude is that the Magha authority over the Kauśāmbī area came to an end with the annexation of this region by Chandragupta I whose dominions, according to a Purāṇic stanza which, by common consensus, is taken to refer to his reign,[136] included Prayāga,[137] which is just some thirty miles from Kauśāmbī. In case it is argued that the extent of his kingdom stopped just at Allahabad and did not include any area beyond it, the Maghas might have lingered on for a few more years to be put down finally by his son and successor Samudragupta. In all likelihood the pillar bearing his inscription, now in Allahabad fort, originally stood at Kauśāmbī. The gap between Bhīmavarman and the end of the dynasty is quite sufficient to accommodate the Magha chiefs under consideration.

We have attempted above a brief reconstruction of the political vicissitudes of the dynasty as revealed by the extant records. It must, however be admitted that notwithstanding the considerable evidence available in the form of inscriptions, coins and sealings that have been brought to light during the last few decades, our knowledge about the dynasty is far from perfect, and we still have several problems which continue to baffle all attempts at a final solution. Divergent opinions, for instance, still prevail regarding the period when these rulers flourished and the era in which their records are dated although the common consensus now favours the Śaka era theory. Doubts have also been expressed as to whether some of the chiefs who are generally taken to be Magha really belonged to the Magha dynasty. The chronological position of some of the chiefs and the order of succession are also far from certain. Likewise, how and under what circumstances the rule of Maghas came to an end cannot also be ascertained in the absence of relevant evidence. These and other allied issues can be finally settled only when fresh decisive evidence comes to light.

I. Attention has recently been invited to the supposed inexplicability of the dynastic name Magha and its likely foreign extraction. It has been suggested that the Maghas were actually sun-worshipping Magi priests of Iran who entered India in the wake of foreign aggressors, particularly the Kushāṇas, about the commencement of the Christan era, and that Magha is an Indianised or Sanskritised form of Maga.[138] It has even been surmised that they had some ethnic affinities with the Kushāṇas whose feudatories they originally were, and upon whose withdrawal from the east (Kausāmbī region) they fought for their survival. And a confirmation of this supposition is sought to be found in the enigmatic legends like *Magaja*, *Magajaśa*, *Magajaya*, *Magojaya* and the like encountered on some tiny copper coins ascribed to the Mālavas and found at Nagara, also known as Karkoṭa-nagara or Mālava-nagara, in the Tonk District of Rajasthan, which are supposed to refer to the victory of the Mālavas over the Magas, *i.e.* Maghas.[139] Unfortunately, these conjectures are not only not borne out by but contradicted by the extant evidence. There is absolutely no evidence to connect the Maghas with the Magi priests. Iranian Magi priests were well known as sun-worshippers, and their services were often sought after in connection with the installation of Sūrya images. In course of time they had come to be included within the fold of the Brāhmanical society and regarded as Brāhmaṇas and continued to be known by their original name, *viz.*, Maga, at least as late the eleventh century A.D., as indicated by references to them in the writings of Varāhamihira[140] and Al-Bīruni[141] as well as the *Bhavishya-purāṇa* [142] They are nowhere mentioned as Magha in the extensive Indian literature.[143]

Moreover, the word *magha* is not unknown to Indian tradition. Right from Rigvedic times it has been employed in various senses including gift, bounty, reward, wealth, power and sacrifice, and Maghavat is a well-known epithet of Indra.[144] We need not, therefore, look for some extraneous origin of the name of the ruling family which was, as point out earlier, evidently derived from that of its founder.

II. Doubts have also been expressed regarding our attribution of the solitary coin in the Kausāmbī hoard studied by us to *Mahārāja* Magha.[145] It may be pointed out in this connection that the legend is much better preserved and accommodated fully except only the concluding *akshara* (*gha*) on a couple of coins in the Allahabad Museum,[146] which should leave absolutely no doubt about the correctness of the proposed restoration.[147]

III. As stated above, the Purānas speak of the Magha (or Megha as the name is spelt in them) rule over Kosalā or the Chhattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh, and as no other corroborative evidence was coming forth till recently, this statement wos sought to be explained away in a variety of ways. A short while ago, however, three copper (or bronze) Magha coins have been reported from Mallar, a

site of great antiquarian interest, in the Bilaspur District of Madhya Pradesh. Two of them are round in shape with a diameter of 2 and 2.12 cms and weigh 3.860 gms. and 2.850 gms., and belong to a certain Śivamagha, whose Magha extraction is beyond doubt. They bear the figure of an elephant standing to right with a bold angular *nandipada* above it on the obverse and a peacock to left on a tiered platform[148] on the reverse. The circular Brāhmī legend on the obverse datable to first-second century A.D. on palaeographical considerations reads *Savamagha-sarasa* which must be restored as *Sivamagha-sirīsa*. the medial for *i* in the two *si*-s (of *Sivamagha* and *sirisa*) and of *ri* remaining off the flan because of the die being larger than the metallic blank.[149] The remaining coin, roughly square in shape and measuring 1.82 × 1.72 cms. and weighing 2.750 gms.,[150] has on the obverse the same devices but with some indistinct object, perhaps a rider, on the back of the elephant and the Brāhmī legend *siri-Yāmagha* on the top, and the reverse shows a tree.[151] As indicated by the legends, the first two coins belong to a certain Śivamagha and the last one to Yāmagha, quite a new, and rather strange, name among the Maghas. The name-endings should leave no doubt regarding both of them being of Magha extraction. Moreover, the name Śivamagha is quite well known to us from fairly humerous numismatic and epigraphic records found at Bandhogarh, Saton (or Haswa) in the Fatehpur District and the Kausāmbī region. It may be pointed out that a couple of coins resembling closely those of Śivamagha from Mallar, one of them clearly attributable to Śivamagha on the basis of legend, have been reported from the Tripurī (modern Tewar, Jabalpur District) region also.[152]

These coins are, however. quite different from the hitherto known Magha specie in practically all respects, and had it not been for the legends, it would have been impossible to attribute them to the Maghas.[153] To elaborate a little, the devices on the two series of coins are entirely different: while the legends on the coins under reference are explicitly couched in Prakrit and include the honorific *siri* (*śrī*), those on the Kausāmbī series have, barring the solitary instance of the coins of *Mahārāja* Magha, only the bare name of the issuer without any honorific and are in Sanskrit though in some cases we find some omissions[154] which seem to be due to carelessness on the part of the die-cutters; and lastly, while the legends on our coins end in genitive singular (*sa*), the names on the other series are without any case ending. In respect of fabric and shape also these pieces are better and more regular as compared to other coins. That these coins are distinctly of Kosalan origin and have not travelled from anywhere else is vouched for not only by their provenance but by another unimpeachable evidence. The symbols found on these coins are familiar to us from a number of other copper (or bronze) coins recently found from Mallar. The ruling chiefs represented by these coins include the Sātavāhana kings Āpilaka and Chaṇḍasri and another chief named Bhāliga (a somewhat strange name indeed). But what clinches the issue is the angular *nandi-*

pāda found above the animal on the obverse of all these coins and has, therefore, got to be taken something like a mint-mark. And as all these coins have been found at Mallar, it may be reasonably concluded that Mallar was an important mint at least from the Sātavāhana period.

While the name Yāmagha forms a new addition to the list of Magha chiefs, Śivamagha quite a familiar name, and we are familiar with atleast two kings of this name from inscriptions, sealings and coins. The Kosalan Śivamagha is, however, quite distinct from his other homonyms as indicated by the aforesaid striking differences between their monetary issues. At least for the present, therefore, we must remain content with the welcome addition to our knowledge that the Magha kings brought to light by these Kosalan issues were rulers of Kosala. It is quite likely that they belonged to the Kosala branch of the dynasty. In the present state of insufficient knowledge the questions regarding the relationship between the Magha monarchs now brought to light on the one hand and those already known on the other and their relative chronology must be left to be resolved in the light of future epigraphical and numismatic discoveries. The value of these new coin finds lies primarily in the fact that they establish, once for all, the correctness of at least a part of the Purāṇic statement about the Maghas (or Meghas), *viz.*, they ruled in Kosalā, and should suffice to bring home the point that the historical statements of the Purāṇas need not always be dismissed merely because corroborative evidence is not at present available.[155]

IV. As we have seen above, the Purāṇas spell the name of the dynasty ruling in Kosalā as Megha which is otherwise unknown, while the inscriptions and coins make known to us names of a number of chiefs bearing *magha*-ending names. The extant historical text of the Purāṇas, and; for that matter, any other literary evidence, knows of no ruling family called Magha. The inscriptional and numismatic evidence now available proves indisputably that kings with *magha*-ending names ruled in thc Kosala region. We may, therefore, reasonably conclude that Megha of the Purāṇas is an error for the well-documented Magha, such distorted readings not being uncommon to the Purāṇas.

The question that now arises is as to how this error arose. A palaeographical approach may perhaps provide an answer to this otherwise insoluble riddle. There can be no doubt that it was Brāhmī into which the Purāṇas must have been first reduced to writing. The presence of top-strokes on the *aksharas* in certain phases of the development of Brāhmī is a common knowledge. In all likelihood, it appears to us, some copyist(s) of the Purāṇic text mistook the stroke placed, deliberately or inadvertently, on the top of the left limb of the syllable *ma* for the medial sign of *e* and thereby turned Magha into Megha.[156] Similar inadvertence was obviously responsible for the numerous distortions of readings of Purāṇic names, making it more often than not difficult, nay impossible, to make cut the intended reading.[157]

Notes and References

1. ASI., *AR*, 1911-12, p. p. 51, Nos. 25-28.
2. J. Allan's *Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India* (in the British Museum) published in 1936.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 154-56, Pl. XXI. 4-15.
4. See R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar (editors), *A New History of the Indian People*, VI, *The Vakāṭaka-Gupta Age*, pp. 41-46; R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalkar (editors), *A History and Culture of the Indian People*, II : *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 174-77; K.A. Nilakanta Sastri (editor), *Cemprehensive History of India*, II, pp. 259-62; Sudhakara Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of Northern India*, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1968, pp. 140-43. Bela Lahiri, *Indigenous Siates Northern India*, pp. 126-139.
5. These belong to Vijayanandin, an hitherto unknown king of Kauśāmbī. For a full treatment of these coins see my paper in *Numismatic Digest* (ii), pp. 3-9. Also see my *Kuśāmbī, Hoard of Magha Coins*, pp. 12-15. For more coins, see *Numismatic Digest*, vi, pp. 17-25.
6. The legends or their missing portions are either off the flan or worn out irrecognisably.

6a. This hoard has been published under the title *Kauśāmbī Hoard of Magha Coins*, Nagpur, 1979.

7. *Kosalāyāṁ tu rājāno bhavishyanti mahābalāḥ, Meghā iti samākhyātā buddhimanto nav-aiva tu.* F.E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 57.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 53.
9. This view is, however, not accepted by some scholars. See Jagannath Agrawal in *A Comprehensive History of India*, II, p. 259, note 4.
10. *Medyā* and Medhātithi are mentioned by Pargiter as variants in place of *Meghā* and *Meghā iti* respectively. See *The Purāṇa Text of Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 51, note 21.
11. Altekar thinks it possible that in the heyday of their glory, the Magha kings ruled over wide territories extending from Bilaspur in the south to Fatehpur in the north. Vide *JGJRI*, I, p. 159.

11a. This statement has to be modified in the light of some recent discoveries. See postscript.

12. Limits of provinces are known to have changed with political vicissitudes. To cite an example, Dakshiṇa Kosala once appears to have included a part of Vidarbha. The Senkapat inscription of the time of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśin king Mahā-Śivagupta Bālarjuna of South Kosala shows that the dominions of his predecessor Nannarāja reached as far as the banks of the river Varadā, mod. Wardha, a tributary of the Godāvarī. See *EI*, XXXI, pp. 35-36.

12a. But see the postscript.

12b. *EI*, XVIII, p. 160.

13. *CII*, III. p. 266. A Ghosh, who distinguishes this Bhīmavarman from the Bhīmavarman of the Kosam inscriptions of the year 130, also refers the date of this record to the Gupta era. See *IC*, III, p. 378.
14. This date is supplied by the Bandhogarh inscriptions of Bhīmasena. *Vide EI*, XXXI, p. 177, No, 1.
15. This is the date of one of the Kosam inscriptions of Bhīmavarman. See *CII*, III, p. 266.
16. The verse found in some of the Purāṇas according to which Gupta scions ruled over the territory including the area along the Ganges, Prayāga, Sāketa and Magadha (Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 53 and 73) is generally taken to refer to the period of Chandragupta I. But there is no certainty on this point.
17. Several inscriptions of the Maghas have been found at or near Kauśāmbī. Magha coins have also been reported from Kosam.
18. The argument that the Guptas may have allowed their Magha vassals to issue coins in base metals does not carry conviction.

19. The language of the Magha epigraphs is either Prakrit or Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit, while Prakrit had been supplanted by Sanskrit for epigraphical purposes in the Gupta period. These inscriptions afford us season dates which had gone out of vogue in northern India by the Gupta age, no definate instance of any season date referable to the Gupta or subsequent age being known. Although later looking forms of a few letters figure in the Magha inscriptions, their general appearance is undoubtedly Kushāṇa.
20. The queer shapes represented by Magha coins and the devices like tree within railing and three-peaked hill went out vogue much prior to the late Gupta period are not noticed in any series of coins thereafter.
21. *A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 173, note 3.
22. *History of India, 150 A.D, to 350 A.D.*, p. 229.
23. *EI.*, XXIV, p. 147.
24. *IC*, I, p. 715; III, p. 179.
25. *EI*, XXIV, p. 255.
26. *JESI*, II, pp. 103-104.
27. *EI*, XXVI, pp 297-304; *Studies in Indology*, I, pp. 152-166.
28. *EI*, XXXI, pp. 173-176.
29. *JGJRI*, I, pp. 151-53; *The Vākāṭaka Gupta Age*, p. 41, note 2.
30. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 175. *Select Inscriptions*, i, p. 163. note 1.
31. In modern historical writings an attempt has been made to reconstruct the history of the Maghas on the basis of the assumption that their records are dated in the Śaka era. *Vide A Comprehensive History of India*, II, pp. 259-62; Sudhakara Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of Northern India*, pp. 140-43; *INC*, III, pp 11-22. Also see G.S. Chatterji, *Jha Commemoration Volume*, pp. 101-114; A.L. Basham (ed.), *Papers on the Date of Kanishka*, pp. xi, 117, 126, 202-203.

    Sten Konow (*EI*, XXIII, p 247) and A.H. Dani (*Papers on the Date of Kanishka*. p, 64) also place the Maghas in the second and third centuries A.D.; but they refer the dates of their inscriptions to the Kanishka era which is distinguished from the Śaka era of A.D. 78. While according to Konow, the former reckoning commenced in 128-29 A.D. (*CII*, II, ii, p. xciv) Dani is inclined to place the intrusion of the Kanishka group after A.D. 144.
32. *ASI, AR*, 1911-12, pp. 34, 51.
33. *CII*, III, p. 7, text-line 21. According to some scholars, the missing portion of line 13 also contained a reference to Gaṇapatināga. *Vide* D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, p. 264, note 1, p. 264.
34. For a full summary of the stratigraphic evidence, see *EI*, XXXI, p. 175: *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, 1948-53, pp. xxxvi-xxxix; G.R. Sharma, *Excavations at Kauśāmbī*, 1949-50, *MASI*, No. 74, pp. 18-23. It is said elsewhere that sub-period III. 15-III-16 yielded Mitra coins, while sub-period IV. 20 was characterised by the Magha specie, See G.R. Sharma, *Excavations at Kauśāmbi*, p. 19. Two Magha coins are reported from sub-period IV. 20 or IV. 21 (*ibid.*, p. 85). Sub-period IV, 20 is dated *c.* 165-*c.* A.D. 235 and sub-period 1V. 21 *c.* 235-*c.* A.D. 305. *Vide ibid.*, p. 21.
35. *EI*, XXIV, p. 210.
36. *Ibid.*, XXXI, p. 275; *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, 1948-53, p. xxxix; G.R. Sharmr, *Excavations of Kauśāmbi* (*MASI*, No. 74), p. 19, No. 4, Pl, LII. 4.
37. The inclusion of Kauśāmbī region in Kanishka's empire is generally taken for granted. See *JGJRI*, I, p. 155; The *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, pp. 42-43; etc. But it is denied by P.L. Gupta (Papers on the date of Kanishka, p. 116. He regards the Kushana coins found at Kauśāmbī, as drifts) and K.D. Bajpai (INC, III. pp. 18ff.)
38. It is no doubt true that coins of Huvishka and Vāsudeva have been reported from Bhita (*ASI, AR*, 1911-12, pp, 63-65) and Kauśāmbī excavatiors (*EI*, XXXI, p. 175), but that cannot be

taken to prove the rule of these monarchs over Kauśāmbī just as the discovery of the coins of Kadphises II at Bhita is not taken as an evidence of his hold over this region (*ASI, AR*, 1911-12, pp. 62-63). These coins might have come there by way of trade or with pilgrims or travellers.

39. *EI*, XXXI. p. 168.
40. *Ibid.*, XXI, p. 2.
41. *Ibid*,, XIX, pp. 96ff. The date of this record was read as year 14 untill Mirashi suggested to correct it to 54 and attributed it to Kanishka II (*ibid.*, XXVI, pp. 29ff. *Studies in Indology*, I, pp. 145-151).
42. *EI*, XVI. Plate facing p. 237
43. *EI*, XXVI, pp. 297ff.
44. *JNSI*, II, p. 103. For a detailed examination of palaeographic evidence, see pp. 103-4.
45. The dated are given in terms of years, seasons and fortnights as in the Sātavāhana and other early inscriptions. This manner of dating appears to have been given up in North India by the beginning of the Gupta Age (Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, I, p. 158), though in the Deccan it continued till the sixth century A.D.
46. Some scholars do not accept him as a Magha king. *Vide* Sudhakara Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of Northern-Eastern Indian* (2nd ed. Calcutta, 1968), pp. 140 ff. P.L. Gupta (A.L. Basham (ed.), *Papers on the Date of Kaniska*, p. 117) also does not include Bhīmasena and his son Poṭhasiri in the list of Magha rulers.
47. *EI*, XXXI, p. 177, no 1.
48. *Ibid*, III, plate opposite p. 306 (eye-copy of the Ginja hill inscription) Bhīmsena is also known from a Bhita seal (*ASI, AR*, 1911-12, p. 51, No. 27, Pl. XVIII, 27, Rājan Bhīmasena of a Rajghat clay sealing (*JNSI*, XXIII, p. 411, no. 6) has also probably to be identified with him, though, it may be mentioned, the metronymic Vāsiṣṭhiputra is conspicuous by its absence on the Rajghat sealing.
49. Diam. 1.5 cm.; weight 1.700 gm.
50. It seems that the legend is not entirely horizontal. When it could not be completed in the horizontal line below the [devices, it was continued vertically on the right side where we find triangular terminal part of a letter which was probably no other than *gha*. For this coin, see my *Kauśāmbi Hoard of Magha Coins*, pp. 41-42, 69, Pl. I. 1.
51. For a full discussion of this and other issues concerning the Bodhis, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Fresh light on the Bodhis", *JNSI*, XXXIV, pp. 213-222.

51a. For coins of Magha with letter preserved legends, see *ibid.*, xlvi, pp. 26 and 28-30. Also see postscript.

52. Luders' List No. 906; *EI*, III, plate opposite p. 306 (eye-copy).
53. *Ibid.*, XXXI, p. 177, No. I.
54. *ASI, AR*, 1911-12, p. 51, No. 27, PL XVIII 27.
55. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 411, No. 6.
56. *Ibid.*, VIII, pp. 15-16, Pl. IB. 1A; *INC*, III, p. 13, Nos. I-II. Bajpai seems to be right in attributing a few other coins also to Bhīmasena. *Vide Ibid.*, p. 12.
57. Bhīmasena's coins have only tree within railing on the obverse, while other Magha issues have three-peaked hill associated with it. Then again, the regal title, *rājan* found on the issues attributed to Bhīmasena is generally absent on the other Magha coins. The only exception is the unique coins of Magha which bears the title *mahārāja*.
58. *i.e.*, the discovery of Bhīmasena's sealing at Bhita in the same stratum which yielded a couple of sealings of Gautamīputra Śivamagha and the occurrence of identical devices on them.
59. *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 173, note 3.
60. *IC*, III, pp. 179, 180-81.

61. Cf. the Tiger—slayer type coins of Samudragupta on the reverse of which we find the title *rājan* and the Lyrist type coins of Samudragupta and his grandson Kumāragupta I on which the royal names are given without any title whatsoever.
62. *JGJRI*, I, p. 154; *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 42; S. Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of Northern India*, p. 140.
63. *EI*, XXXI, p. 176. P.L. Gupta (*Papers on the Date of Kanishka*. ed. A.L. Basham, p. 117) also does not include Bhīmasena and Poṭhasiri in the list of Magha rulers.
64. *ASI, AR*, 1911-12, p. 51, Nos. 26 and 28, Pl. XVIII 26.
65. *EI*, XXXI, pp. 178-82, 185, Nos. II-X, XVII. Altekar's statement that the Bandhogarh inscriptions of Poṭhasiri number 5 (*JGJRI*, I, p. 155) is not correct.
66. *EI*, XXXI, pp. 177ff. Nos. II-IV, VI, VIII-X give the year 86, No. XVII, the year 87, and No. VII, the year 88.
67. *ASI, AR*, 1911-12, p. 66, Nos. 43-72. The legend is actualiy the genitive singular form of the royal name, the correct form whereof was probably Praushthaśrī. Sometimes *Praushthaśriya* itself is wrongly taken to be the king's name.
68. *JNSI*, IV, pp. 136-37, Pi. xl 2-5, Altekar took the name to be the Prakrit form of Sanskrit Pushpaśrī. But at one place he spelt the name as Pushyaśrī. He attributed an alleged coin of Pushyamitra published by K.P. Jayaswal also to this ruler. Also see G.R. Sharma, *Excavations at Kauśambi*, 1949-50, p. 90, Pl. LV. 50-51. For a clay sealing of Kautsīputra Praushṭraśrī in the Allahabad Museum, see *JNSI*, XXXIX, pp. 27-28.
69. *EI*, XXIV, pp. 253-56.
70. J.S. Negi, *Some Indological Studies*, p. 64. Another inscription dated in the year 83 in which the ruler's name is lost but which probably belonged to Bhadramagha is noticed by Negi. See *ibid*. Another fragmentary inscription of Bhadramagha dated in the same year is preserved in the Allahabad Museum (Reg. No. I/23). This information has been kindly supplied by Dr. R.R. Tripathi.
71. *EI*, XVIII, p. 160. D.R. Sahni, who originally edited the inscription, read the year as 88, but D.C. Sircar (*Select Inscriptions*, i, p. 163) correctly took it to be 86.
72. *Jha Commemoration Volume*, pp. 104-14. For a fragmentary undated epigraph of Bhadramagha, see J.S. Negi *op. cit.*, p. 64. An earthern jar bearing the name Bhadramagha has been found in the excavations at Kauśāmbī. See *Indian Archaeology*, 1955-56—A Review, p. 20.
73. N.P. Chakravari read the second *akshara* of the name as *ṭṭa* and pointed out that its form differs from that of *d* in the same inscriptions. See *EI*, XXXI, p. 182, note 5, Mirashi (*Studies in Indology*, I, p. 156, note) reads it as *dda* in one record (No. XI) and *da* in the other (No. XIII), Sircar seems to agree with Mirashi as regards the first record but reads the name as Bhaḍadeva in the second inscription (*The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 176).
74. *EI*, XXXI, pp. 182-83, Nos. XI and XIII.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 182, No. XI.
76. *JGJRI*, I, p. 155; *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*. p. 43. Also see *A Comprehensive History of India*, II, p, 261; *INC*, III, p. 14.
77. *Studies in Indology*, I, pp. 155-56.
78. *EI*, XXXI, pp. 184-86, Nos. XVIII-XIX. He is probably mentioned in a fragmentary inscription from Kauśāmbī also (Allahabad Museum Reg. No. I/6). I owe this information to Dr. R.R. Tripathi, Director of the Allahabad museum.
79. *IXC*, III, p. 14. This identification was once proposed by Mirashi (*EI*, XXVI, pp. 267ff; *Studies in Indology*, I, pp. 155-56) also; but elsewhere he interprets the evidence differently and regards Bhadrabala as a predecessor of Jayabala, the Pāṇḍava king of Mekalā, known from the Bahmani plates of Bharatabala (*ibid.*, pp. 230ff). Jayabala is also mentioned in the recently discovered Mallar grant of Śūrabala *alias* Udīrṇavaira, son and successar of Bharatabala. A

comparison of these two records shows that the Bahmani plates were also actually issued by Śūrabala and not by his father Bharatabala as hitherto believed. N.P. Chakravarti also indicated this possibility but rejected it as he did not concede any relationship between the Maghas and the rulers of the Bandhogarh line (*EI.* XXXI, p. 171). N.P. Chakravarti correctly read the name as Bhadrabāla which is borne out by the facsimile; but it is now generally spelt as Bhadrabala.

80. Also see V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, I, pp. 231 f.
81. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 176. Sircar calls Bhadramagha Kauśikīputra (*ibid.*, p. 176); but this metronymic is not employed for Bhadramagha in any record. Bhaṭṭadeva, son of Poṭhasiri, is the only Magha chief who is styled Kauśikīputra. Sircar's statement in question, therefore, appears to be based on the confusion between Bhaṭṭadeva and Bhadramagha whose identity is denied by him.
82. *EI.* XXXI, p. 176. This position is also maintained by Mirashi. See *Studies in Indology*, I, pp. 231 ff. But at another place he accepts the identification of Bhaṭṭadeva, son of Praushṭhaśrī, with Bhadramagha (*ibid.*, pp. 155f.).

82a. Our position is vindicated by the recent discovery of the clay sealings of Praushṭhaśrī and Bhadramagha somewhere in the Kauśāmbī region, now preserved in the Allahabad Museum *JNSI*, xxxix, pp. 27-28). The legends on both these sealings employ the metronymic Kautsīputra for rulers represented by them, which should suffice to show that they were, in all probability, uterine brothers. The overlapping dates may, therefore, be taken to indicate either joint rule or a temporary division of the kingdom. This discovery renders much of the speculation on this question unnecessary.

83. Although the relevant portion of the record in question (*EI*, XXXI, p. 183, No. XIU) is damaged, it is regarded as probable by Chakravarti (*ibid.*, p 169) and accepted generally.
84. The name was read as Bhaṭṭadeva by Chakravarti and as Bhaddadeva by some other writers.
85. *EI*, XXXI, pp 183, and 183, Nos. XI and XIII.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 182, No. XI.
87. *ASI, AR*, 1911-12, p. 51, Nos. 26, 28. Pl. XVIII, 26. One of these sealings is oval and the other circular and are from different dies. But they have identical devices and legends. They bear in the upper part, humped bull standing left with a crescent under its neck; in front a standing female figure with her right hand outstretched and the left one placed on the hip; and behind a post or thunderbolt (*Vajra*). In the lower part we have strung bow and arrow and an arched hill, and, across the middle of the field, Brāhmī legend *Mahārāja Gotamīputra śrī-Śivamaghasya*. Marshall doubtfully read the last but two *aksaras* as *me*.
88. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 412. In the upper part of this sealing we have *Nandipada* and a couple of other symbols which are now defaced; and in the lower part bow-and-arrow, three-peaked hill and a dumb-bell (*ḍamaru*); and in the middle, Brāhmī legend *Rājñaḥ Kautsīputrasys śrī-Śivamaghasya*. This sealing has not been illustrated.

88a. For the coins of the two Śivamaghas, see my *Kauśāmbi Hoard of Magha Coins*, pp. 45-51 and 70-77 (Śivamagha I), 58-62 and 83-89 (Śivamagha II).

89. *EI*, XXXI, pp. 178 ff.
90. Known years are 81, 83, 86 and 87.
91. Known years are 86, 87 and 88.
92. *EI*, XXXI, p. 184, No. XIV.
93. *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 159.
94. *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 159; XXXI, p. 184, No. XIV.
95. *JGRJI*, I pp. 50-51; *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, pp. 44-45; *A Comprehensive History of India*, p. 261, etc.

96. V.V. Mirashi, *EI*, XXVI, pp. 297 ff.; *Studies in Indology*, I, pp. 152ff., 233. N.P. Chakravarti (*EI*, XXXI, p. 171) is inclined to place Śivamagha eorlier than Bhadramagha.

96a. For these coins, see my *Kauśāmbī Hoard of Magha Coins*, p. 50. pl. III, 44-45.

97. Even if Śivamagha I carried his arms upto Varanasi and annexed it, the Magha sway over the region must have been of a short duration as no other evidence of Magha rule has been reported therefrom.

98. *EI*, XXIV, p. 146.

99. *Ibid.*, Another inscription preserved in the Allahabad Museum (Re. No. I/6) also probably contains a reference to this ruler. Information kindly supplied by Dr. R.R. Tripathi.

100. *EI*, XXXI, pp. 185-86, Nos. XVIII-XIX.

101. *Ibid.*, p. 185, No. XVIII.

102. *Ibid.*, pp. 185-186, Nos. XVIII-XIX.

103. *Ibid.*, pp. 185-86, Nos. XVIII-XIX. As pointed out by N.P. Chakravarti, the title *Mahāsenāpati*, does not necessarily indicate that Bhadrabāla was an army commander; for it was not unoften employed as a title of nobility, *Vide ibid.*, XXIII, p. 52 note; XXXI, p. 171.

104. Allahabad Museum Reg, No. I/6.

105. *EI*, XXXI, p. 176. It must be pointed out, however, that N.P. Chakravarti hinted at the possibility of Vaiśravaṇa of both the Kosam and Bandhogarh records being one and the same. As to the difference between his titles in the Bandhogarh (*Rājan*) and Kosam (*Mahārāja*) inscriptions, he observed, "it is just possible that Vaiśravaṇa who gained more eminence than his father assumed at first the title *Rājan* which he replaced at a later date by hat of *Mahārāja*". But he gave up this alternative in favour of regarding him as a different ruler belonging only to the Bandhogarh iine (*ibid.*, p. 171). He placed him before Bhīmasena (*ibid.*, p. 176). Mirashi once regarded Vaiśravaṇa of all the records as a Magha chief, but suggests a difference at another place. *Vide Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 152 ff.; 230 ff.

106. Altekar thought that Vaiśravaṇa's father Bhadrabāla was probably a junior member of the ruling family and that Vaiśravaṇa might have succeeded Śivamagha as the latter left behind no heir. He also offered the alternative suggestion that Vaiśravaṇa might have ousted Śivamagha and usurped the throne for himself.

107. *A History and Culture of the Indian People*, II: *The Age of Imperial Unity* (ed. R.C. Mujumdar and A.D. Pusalkar), p. 176.

108. *JGJRI*, I. p. 158; *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 45, Bajpai (*INC*, III, p. 15, fn. 2) seems to agree with this contention but questions his other statement that the Maghas now became eastern neighbours of the Nāgas of Padmāvatī.

109. The inscription is preserved in the Kauśāmbī Museum of the University of Allahabad. See J.S. Negi. *Some Indological Studies*, p. 60.

110. *IC*, III, p. 182.

111. *CII*, III, p. 266. Fleet referred the year 139 of this inscription to the Gupta era. This view is accepted by A. Ghosh who draws distinction between the Bhīmavarman of this record and that of the year 130 who are referred to as Bhīmavarman II and Bhīmavarman I respectively. See *IC*, III, pp. 179-81. This distinction is also admitted by some other scholars. See *A Comprehensive History of India*, II, p. 26. But as pointed out above, there is no hard and fast distinction between Kushāṇa and Gupta alphabets, and consequently such a distinction does not appear justifiable.

112. Sudhakara Chattopadhyaya (*Early History of Northern India*, p. 142) thinks that Vaiśravaṇa as also Bhīmavarman did not probably belong to the Magha dynasty as their names did not end in *magha*.

113. It is suggested by some that Bhīmavarman may have been the son and successor of

Vaiśravaṇa. *Vide JGJRI*, I, p. 159; S. Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of Northern India*, p. 143; *INC*. III, p. 15.

114. *JNSI*, IV, pp. 11-12. pl. I, 12-13.

114a. For these coins, see our *Kauśaṁbi Hoard of Magha Coins*, p. 91, pl. VIII, 129-30.

115. *JNSI*, XXXIV, pp. 70-77. pl., V. 1.

116. *Ibid.*, XI, p. 12, pl. III, 4; *INC*, III, p. 16.

117. *JNSI*, IV, pp. 10-11, pl. I, 11. We have shown elsewhere that the coins attributed to Śatamagha really belong to one of the Śiramghas. See JNSI. XI vi, pp. 26-27.

118. *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 8, pl. I, 2-3. Altekar does not appear to have been quite certain about the reading of the legend as will appear from the interrogation mark in the caption.

119. *Ibid.*, p. 9, pl. IA, 4. V.S. Agrawala suggested that the first letter may have been *yu*, so that the name was probably Yugamagha, (*ibid*). This spelling of the name is adopted by S. Chattopadhyaya (*Early History of Northern India*, p. 142).

120. *JNSI*, IV, pp. 136-137, pl. XI. 2-5.

121. *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 6, Also cf. *JGJRI*, I, p. 160; *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 46, where it is suggested that Pushvaśrī came to power after Nava whose coins copy Magha coins. Also see *EI*, XXXI, p. 175, where it is said that sub-period VIII at Kauśāmbī has yielded coins of Pushvaśrī whereas sub-period VII has given only the coins of the Maghas. But in ancient India coins once issued continued to circulate for a long time. Therefore discovery of Praushṭhaśrī's coins in later layers poses no problem.

121a. See *JNSI*, XLVI, p. 27.

122. The sealing bears the symbols *nandipada* and strung bow-and-arrow in the upper part and three-peaked hill in the lower field, the legend *Mahāsenāpatisya Rudramaghasya* occupying the central position (*JNSI*, XXIII, p. 412, No. 11). K.K. Thaplyal (*Studies in Ancient Indian Seals*, p. 38, fn. 3) is tempted to read *Mahāsenaputrasya Rudramaghasya* which would mean that Rudramagha was the son of Mahāsena.

123. Omananda Saraswati, *Bhārata ke Prāchina Mudrāṅka*, (Jhajjar, 1975), p. 153, pl. 330.

124. On Krishṇasena's sealing we notice strung bow-and-arrow in the upper part; the legend *Kṛishṇasenasya* flanked by a *yūpa* on left and *śakti* on right in the center and the devices *svastika*, *nandipada*, *śrīvatsa* and conch-shell in the exergue. See *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 411, No. 4.

125. Harisheṇa's sealings, numbering about a hundred, bear the same devices as found on the sealing of Kṛishṇasena, See *ibid.*, p. 411, No. 5.

126. Bow and arrow device, standard in railing and *yupa* in railing are common on the seals of Bhīmasena, Śivamagha II, Vijayamagha, Kṛishṇasena and Harisheṇa.

127. *Kāśi Kā Itihāsa*, p. 73. Also see *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 411, where V.S. Agrawala proposes to identify Bhīmasena of the Rajghat sealing with that of the Bhita sealing and takes Kṛishṇasena and Harisheṇa as belonging to the same family as that of Bhīmasena.

128. K.K. Thaplyal, *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals*, p. 41.

129. *CII*, III, p. 7, text-line 21.

130. *EI*, XXVI, p. 304; *Studies in Indology*, I, p. 165.

131. *EI*, II, pp. 364-365.

132. *ASI*, *AR*, 1936-37, p. 88.

133. *Studies in Indology*, I, p. 233 and note 2.

134. The date of Lakshmaṇa's inscriptions is commonly referred to the Gupta era, but Mirashi proposes to refer it to the Śaka era. But palaeography appears to militate against this suggestion.

135. *INC*, III, p. 17; *Papers on the Date of Kanishka* (ed. A.L. Basham), p. 117; K.K. Thaplyal, *Studies in Ancient Indian Sales*, pp. 40-41.

136. But *contra The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, pp. 134-35; *The Classical* Age, p. 4.
137. *Anu-Gaṅgā Prayāgaṁ cha Sāketaṁ Magadhāṁs-tathā Etān janapadān sarvān bhokshyante Gupta-vaṁśajāḥ* F.E. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
138. *Nagpur University Journal*, XXXIII—XXXIV, p. 143.
139. *JNSI*, xli, pp. 128-29.
140. Ajay Mitra Shastri, *India as seen in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira*, p. 140.
141. E. Sachau, *Al-Beruni's India*, i, pp. 21 and 121.
142. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. *Maga*, p. 772.
143. For some other references to Magas, *vide* R.G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems* (*Collected Works of Sir R.G. Bandarkar*, iv), pp. 218-19; J.N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 230, 431, 513, 567; S.R. Goyal, *A Religious History of Ancient India*, ii, pp. 334-42. For an epigraphic reference, see *EI*, ii, p. 330.
144. Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. *magha*, p. 772.
145. *Nagpur University Journal*, xxxiii—xxxiv, p. 143.
146. Coin nos. 169 and 223 of the museum catalogue. We are thankful to Dr. R.R. Tripathi, Director of the Museum, for his generosity in allowing up to examine these coins.
147. Also see *JNSI*, xlvi, pp. 26 and 28-30.
148. In one case the pedestal has a couple of diagonally and horizontally placed tiers (*ND*, ix, p. 34, coin no. 1) while on the other piece we have two horizontally placed tiers (*ibid.*, p. 35, coin no. 2).
149. *Ibid.*, ix, pp. 34-35.
150. As a portion of this coin is broken away and missing, its original weight must have been a little more.
151. *Ibid.*, ix, p. 35.
152. These coins have been correctly attributed by us. See *ibid.*, ix, pp. 39-40. For their original publication, vide *ibid.*, viii, pp. 22 ff.
153. Coin with the same obverse devices (elephant to right with hanging trunk and goad in front and bold triangular *nandipada* on top with the legend intervening between them) and the tree in a rectangular railing on reverse with the legend *raño Māghasirisa* have also been reported from Mallar. See *Prāchya-Pratibhā*, ix-x, p. 125 and pl. 24. Whether this Māghaśrī was also a Magha chief cannot be ascertained at present,
154. The name Vaiśravaṇa is sometimes spelt as Veśravaṇa, and the susperscript *r* on the coins of Bhīmavarman is more often than not left out.
155. The credit of discovering these coins is due to Shri Anandkumar Risbud, Registering Officer, Archaeology and Museums, Madhya Pradesh, then posted at Bilaspur. We have published these coins jointly with him in *ND*, ix, pp. 34ff. We are similarly publishing other coins from Mallar also.
156. It is well known to students of early Indian palaeography that the addition of a small horizontal stroke projecting to the left from the top of the letter stands for the medial sign for *e*.
157. For a palaeographical approach, with some good results, to the Purāṇic texts relating to the Sātavāhanas. See K.V. Ramesh, *Indian Epigraphy*, i, pp. 112ff.

11

THE ŚARABHAPURĪYAS

The Śarabhapurīyas or 'Kings of Śarabhapura', as they are called in the absence of any reference to the dynastic name in their numerous records, played a vital role in the formation of the cultural personality of South Kosala. With their rule lasting over one century from about the last quarter of the fifth to about the close of the following century, they initiated certain traditions which remained in practice for more than six centuries. The genesis of several important practices followed by the ruling chiefs of the Chhattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa for several centuries lies in this period, and it is difficult, nay impossible, to follow the subsequent course of history of this extensive region without reference to the Śarabhapurīyas. Various problems appertaining this dynasty are dwelt upon in details for the first time in these pages. A detailed treatment of the general nature and evolution of the drart of its records, all of them copper-plate charters, is followed by an equally elaborate historical outline. It has been shown how beginning with what may be described as merely a bare matter of fact statement, the draft of these inscriptions got elaborated and standardised during the reign of Jayarāja, and the practice of having official records incribed on a set of three plates of copper, followed in this area for several centuries, was initiated by the Śarabhapurīyas. The question of the location of the earlier dynastic capital Śarabhapura and the vexed problems concerning the chronology and genealogy of the family, which have been agitating historians for long, have been treated at length giving due weightage to all the extant evidence as well as important modern writings.

The history of South Kosala (Chhattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh and the Sambalpur region of Orissa) prior to its occupation by the Kalachuris is still in a fluid state and beset with many difficulties. This is particularly due to the fact that a vast majority of the epigraphic records bearing on this subject are dated only in regnal reckonings and not in any of the well-known eras which would have made the task of historical reconstruction easier. The dynasties that ruled in this area during this period included, *inter alia*, the family of Śūra, the Śarabhapuriyas, the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins and the Nalas besides a few other rulers like Mahendra whose family association is not known with any degree of certainty. It is proposed in these pages to deal with one of these families, *i.e.*, the Śarabhapurīyas.

The members of this dynasty are styled 'Kings of Śarabhapura' or 'Śarabhapurīya' as most of the records of the family were issued from the town known as Śarabhapura.[1] And this nomenclature has got currency in the absence of any information on this point in their numerous records which describe the issuing monarch without naming the family to which he belonged. It has been suggested recently on the basis of the Mallar plates of Vyāghrarāja[2] that the dynasty was known as Amarārya-kula[3] which is the same as Amaraja-kula from which the queen of Bharatabala, Pāṇḍava king of Mekala,[6] is said to have hailed.[5] But this surmise cannot be accepted, for, as wili be shown in the sequel, Vyāghrarāja, the issuer of this charter, and other members of the family named in this grant had nothing to do with the Śarabhapdriyas. We are, therefore, left with no alternative but to retain the nomenclature, inadequate as it may look, derived from the place of issue of the early charters of the rulers in question.

I

What little we know of this dynasty is based almost entirely on the copper-plate grants issued by some of its members. Only one of the members, Prasannamātra, is known from another source, *i.e.*, coins. Not a single stone inscription of any of the members of the family is known so far. In all, seventeen grants have been reported to date. Of these, three belong to Narendra, four to Jayarāja, seven to Sudevarāja, and two to Pravararāja.[6] Of the remaining grant, only the middle or second plate has been found,[7] and, as the name of the issuing chief is not recorded in the portion incised on the only available plate, its attribution is uncertain.[8]

All the grants of the family are written on a set of three plates of copper. Of these, the outer side of the first plate is invariably left blank as the writing on this side would have become illegible and worn out by constant handling and due to exposure to the inclemencies of weather. With the same object of the preservation of writing the outer side of the last or third plate was also intended to be left uninscribed. Actually, both the known complete records of Narendra, the first member of the family whose records are extant, and the Amgura grant and the first set of the Mallar plates of Jayarāja have the second side of the third plate blank. But later on with some increase in the matter to be engraved, it was found difficult to adjust and accommodate the draft on the inner sides of the first and the third plates and both sides of the second plate, and the remainder of the draft, which comprised a much smaller number of lines as compared to those on the other sides of the plates, came to be engraved on the outer side of the third plate. The Arang plates of Jayarāja, dated in his fifth regnal year, form the earliest extant record of the family with the writing continuing on the second side of the last plate. Henceforth this feature is noticed in all the records except only the Mahasamund plates of Sudevarāja and the Thakundiya plates of Pravararāja which retain the old

feature of leaving the second side of the third plate blank. It must be remembered, however, that in all the cases where both sides of the third plate bear writing, the second side contains much fewer lines than the other inscribed sides of plates, sometimes only a single line,[9] indicatidg thereby that the outer side was expected to be left blank and that all cases of the continuation of writing on this side are due to the difficulty of adjusting the draft of the record. The practice of recording royal charters on a set of three copper-plates was continued by the Pāṇḍavavamsins and the Somavamsins who followed the Śarabhapurīyas in South Kosala. In the Somavamsin records such characters are styled *tri-phalī-tāmra-śāsana.*

The plates are rectangular, their height being generally smaller than the breadth. According to the information available, the smallest plates are those of the Mahasamund grant of Sudevarāja which measure 33/5" × 3", and the largest those of the Kauvatal grant of the same king measuring 7.4" × 4.2"· Other plates range between these sizes. All the three plates of a charter are generally of a uniform thickness, but there are a few exceptions.[10] Generally, the edges of the plates are angular, but in a few cases they are found somewhat rounded.[11] Some of the plates are broader at the ends than in the middle.[12] Ordinarily new plates were used for engraving the records. However, the lower portion of the writing on the first side of the second plate and the whole writing on the second side of the middle plate and the inner side of the third plate of the Mallar grant of Jayarāja's ninth year is engraved on erasures. The practice of raising or thickening the edges of the plates for the preservation of the writing is observed only in one case, *viz.*, Mallar plates of Pravararāja. The plates are held together by a copper ring which passes through a hole made about the middle of the margin on the left. The hole is generally circular or circularish, but in some cases it is square or nearly so.[13] The ends of the ring are joined under a circular seal with a diameter of around 3"[14] Seals attached to all the grants have been found except the Mallar plates of Jayarāja's 5th year, the incomplete Sarangarh plates of Sudevarāja and the stray middle plate of an unattributable charter. Strangely enough, the seal of Jayarāja is found attached to the Sirpur plates of the seventh regnal year of Sudevarāja. Obviously, the seal of Jayarāja, which might have been lying in the records office, was attached by oversight to Sudevarāja's charter. Alternatively, it is possible that, for some reason not known to us, Sudevarāja's plates were disjoined from their original ring the ends of which were soldered under Sudevarāja's seal and were misjoined to a seal originally attached to a grant of Jayarāja.[15] The seals are invariably cast from moulds. As to their metal, Fleet states in connection with the Arang plates of Jayarāja and the Raipur plates of Sudevarāja that the seals attached to these characters have a strong yellow glint in them and the impression of a kind of brass, rather than of copper.[16] In reality, however, they seem to be of bronze. The somewhat counter-sunk, often concave, surface, generally enclosed within a double-line border, is divided into

two halves by a couple of horizontal lines, the lower half being of a slightly larger dimension. The upper portion bears in the centre in a low relief the figure of goddess Lakshmī, nimbate, standing on a lotus and facing full front. Her right hand is best and raised up and the left one akimbo. In both the hands she seems to hold some indistinct object.[17] She is represented as being bathed by water poured from a pot held in the uplifted and expanded trunk of an elephant standing on a waterlily on either side of the goddess. There are accessory devices in right and left corners. The object on the proper left invariably is a conch-shell or *Śaṅkha*[18] while that on the proper right is either a water-lily[19] or wheel (*chakra*).[20] In one case[21] the sun and moon represented by a pellet and a crescent respectively have been noticed in the uppermost portion. The lower portion bears a two-line metrical legend composed in the *Anushṭubh* metre giving the name of the reigning king, prefixed by the honorific *śrīmat* and that of his father, the former being often qualified by some conventional adjectives. Below the legend is a device which is often described as 'floral'. However, from the seal attached to the Mallar plates of pravararāja it appears to consist of a jar or *pūrṇa-kumbha* flanked by water-lilies. These devices are significant inasmuch as they indicate the Vaishṇavite learnings of the Śarabhapurīyas, a conclusion vouched for by the sectarian epithet *parama-bhāgavata* employed by these rulers.

All the extant records are written in what is popularly known as the box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet. The characters of earlier records such as the Pipardula and Kurud plates of Narendra are less elongated and less angular than those of later records of the family. They do not show the extension of the top line of the box-head into short horizontal lines which are met with in the Pāṇḍuvamsin inscriptions and are indicative of later development. These characters, it has been pointed out, are more angular and elongated than those of copper-plate grants of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II and are accordingly assignable to a later date, a fact confirmed by other historical considerations also. We cannot, however, be sure about the suggestion that the use of these characters in South Kosala was due to the influence of the Vākāṭakas,[22] as there is no definite evidence on the point.

All the records are composed in Sanskrit which appears to have served as the official language. Prakritism can be noticed in some stray cases. For instance, in the Mallar plates of the ninth year of Jayarāja we come across the word *haḍappa-grāha* for *hṛitapṛagrāha* (line 8). Similarly Svāmippa is found used in place of Svāmyātman in the Pipardula plater of Narendra (line 6). The use of *tāmbra* for *tāmra* in some cases[23] indicates the faulty pronunciation current in those days. The same is true about the use of *ṅgh* for *ṁh* in the names ending in *siṁha*[24] and that of the lingual *ṅ* instead of *anusvāra* before palatal sibilant (*ś*) in words like *aṅśa* (fos *aṁśa*).[25] The *sandhi* rulers are often not observed. There are also cases of the erroneous employment of *ri* in place of *ṛi*, as in *griha* and *prabhrity* in

lines 7 and 8 respectively of the Kurud plates of Narendra. The same record also presents an example of the use of *gh* in place of *h* (*e.g.*, *dāgha* for *dāha*, line 7). Reduplication of the consonant following *r* and sometimes of that followed by *r* and of, *v* in *saṁvvatsara* is also interesting from an orthographical point of view. The use of *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmānīya* is common. Another point of interest is the use of *anusvāra* for final *m*. Attention should also be invited to the employment of the suffix *u* at the end of the word *saṁvat* in certain records[26] which is due to the influence of Dravidian languages.[27] *Di* is often employed as an abbreviated form of *dina*,[28] though the use of the latter in its full form is also met with.

The inscriptions are composed in prose excluding only the customary imprecatory and benedictory verses at the end and the *Anushṭubh* stanza on the seal.

As stated above, all the extant records of the family are written on copper-plates, and their object is to register land-grants in favour of a Brāhmaṇa or a number of them or a religious institution. The object of making the grant was, as stated in the records, the increase of the religious merit of the ruling chief's parents as well as of the king himself. The occasion of the gift is generally left unspecified. The grants were generally made by the kings themselves. But there are some cases of grants which are said to have been made by some other personages and later appproved by the then ruling chief by issuing a copper-blate charter (*tāmraśāsana*). Thus, the grant recorded in the Pipardula plates of Narendra is said to have been made by one Rāhudeva and later approved by the king. The Mallor plates of Jayarāja's ninth year register a grant made by the *Haḍappagrāha* Vatsa which was later endorsed by the king. The Sirpur plates of Sudevarāja state that the grant recorded in them was made earlier by the honourable Nanna and later okayed by the king. A grant made by the *Pratihāra* Bhogilla for the increase of his own as well as his parents' religious merit was endorsed by Sudevarāja by issuing his Arang plates. According to the same monarch's Raipur charter, he approved a grant made by Savitrisvāmin in favour of his sons-in-law. Similarly, the grant mentioned in Sudevarāja's Sarangarh plates are made by the chief queen and some other members of the royal family and was later approved by the monarch. The unassignable stray plate also purported to record a similar grant, *viz.*, made by Daṇḍachakra together with the young and elderly members of his family and later endorsed by the issuing chief. It will thus be seen that some of the personages who made the grants were royal officers, some others members of the royal family, and still others probably landlords or zagirdars. It is obvious that they must have given away villages out of the land alloted to or held by them. But they did not enjoy unrestricted right of alienation as, the land-grants being tax-free, it would have deprived the state of considerable revenue by way of loss of land tax, and therefore the permission of the king was essential. It was also required as the grants were of a parmanent nature, while as regards royal officers land was allotted to them only for thier own life-time.

Reference must be made here to the Kurud plates of Narendra which supply

a very interesting piece of information. It is stated that the grant recorded therin was originally made by means of a charter recorded on palm leaves (*tāla-patra-śāsana*), that the palm-leaf charter was burnt in a house-fire, and that after ascertaining that the grant was being uninterruptedly enjoyed by the donee it was endorsed by Narendra by means of issuing a copper-plate charter. Whereas we have a few other references to the destruction of the original charters and their renewal or confirmation by later rulers,[29] the present record is unique in referring to the issuing of royal charters concerning land-grants written on palmyra leaves. Palm-leaf charters must have evidently been issued in a fairly good number but have not come down to us because of their perishable character.

All the complete charters that have been reported so far are dated. But the dates are recorded only in years described as belonging to the increasingly victorious reign, evidently of the issuing chief. All the dates follow a set pattern. They first mention the regnal year which is followed by a reference to the month and the day thereof, the days being counted serially from 1 to 30. The epigraphs themselves afford absolutely no clue to ascertain as to whether the month was intended to be *Pūrṇimānta* or *amānta*. But the Pāṇḍuvamśins, who followed the Śarabhapurīyas, employed the *Pūrṇimānta* system for dating their records as indicated by the Lodhia plates of Śivagupta Bālārjuna which first refer to the *tithi* as *Kārttika-paurnamāsī* which is then specified as *Kārttika-dina*.[30] It is therefore very likely, nay almost certain, that in the Śarabhapurīya charters also the *pūrṇimānta* secheme was intended. Reference may now be made to a few variations in the manner of specifying the date noticed in the records under consideration. The Pipardula grant mentions the date in words, while the Kurud plates of Narendra and the first Mallar grant of Jayarāja give it partly in words and partly in figures. Thus, the year is mentioned both in words and figures, while the day is specified only in figures. In all the other records, which are extant in full, both the year and the day are indicated only in figures, which are invariably specified according to the old system of numerical notation. In one case there is a reference to the second or intercalary Bhādrapada.[31]

Most of the charters of the dynasty commence with the symbol for the auspicious word *siddham*,[32] which is formed by a curved semi-circle open to left, followed by the word *svasti*. The initial symbol was, on the authority of the Arab writer Al-Bīrunī,[33] taken earlier to stand for *praṇava* or *om*. But it is now admitted that the Arab writer was misinformed or confused, probably because the symbol was sometimes pronounced as *Om siddhih*, and that it really represents *siddham*, 'success' or 'hail'.[34] After these auspicious words we invariably find the mention of the place of issue which is generally Sarabhapura in the earlier records and Śrīpura in a few later ones. Only in the Kurud plates of Narendra we find the mention of a military camp. Next come the reference to the issuing monarch and his order about the land-grant. This is followed by an exhortation to the future

kings to uphold the grant, imprecatory and benedictive stanzas, and the date. The concluding item is the mention of the scribe. In some cases the date and the reference to the engraver change their position, and the latter is given precedence over the former.[35] This general framework is seen followed in all the epigraphs without a single exception.

It is instructive to study the evolution of the draft of the copper-plate charters of the kings of Śarabhapura. The first four records of the dynasty have a very simple draft which gets elaborated during the reign of Jayarāja. This point can be best brought home by a somewhat detailed analysis of the contents of these records. The draft of the first known record of the family, *i.e.*, Pipardula plates of Narendra, is extremely simple and in the nature of matter of fact statement without any unnecessary elaboration. After the auspicious words *siddham*, expressed symbolically, and *svasti* and the mention of Śarabhapura, whence the charter was issued, the inscription refers to the illustrious *Mahārāja* Narendra about whom no information is supplied. Next follows the grant portion. It simply records the donation of a village by an individual for his own merit in favour of a Brāhmaṇa by means of a copper-plate charter and its ratification by the king. The address in respect of the grant is extremely simple, and the addressees are the agriculturist householders inhabiting the villages led by the Brāhmaṇas. As for the grantee, his Veda and *gotra* are specified. The only privilege conferred on the donee through this grant was freedom from the entry of the *chaṭas* and *bhaṭas* (regular and irregular soldiers), and the villagers were asked to make over to the donee all the incomes in kind and cash. Next comes the request to the future district officers (*bhoga-patis*) to maintain the gift village, and a couple of imprecatory and benedictive stanzas, attributed to Vyāsa, are cited in support of this entreaty. The record ends with the date and the mention of the engraver.

The second stage in the development of the draft is seen in the same monarch's Kurud plates which were issued 21 years later. The development is noticed in the following matters. The king is now described, for the first time, in the preamble as a devout worshipper of *bhagavat* (*i.e.*, Vishṇu) and as meditating upon the feet of his parents. The addressees of the charter are now 'commanded' (*samājñāpayati*) instead of being 'informed' (*bodhayati*) as in the previous grant. The villagers are, for the first time, asked to be obedient to the donee, and the list of the offerings to be made to him is considerably elaborated. It now includes *bhoga* (periodical offerings), *bhāga* (royal share of agricultural produce), grains and cash. The exhortation is now addressed to the future kings, and not to the district officers as in the preceding charter. The number of imprecatory and benedictory verses quoted in the name of Vyāsa is now increased to three. Whereas in the earlier grant the year is quaiified only by the word *pravarddhamāna*, 'increasing' or 'prosperous', in the grant under review it is found elaborated to *pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya*. 'increasingly victorious reign' or 'prosperous and

victorious reign'. The date, which was formerly given in words only, is now specified in a mixture of words and figures, the year being expressed both in words and figures and the day only in figures. It will be seen that most of these features, some of them in a more elaborated form, are noticed in all the later records of the dynasty.

Chronologically speaking, the next record of the family is the Amgura grant of Jayarāja[36] which marks a further stage in the evolution of the draft. The new features noticed in it are as under. The grant is, for the first time, said to have been made for the increase of the religious merit of the donor's parents as well as of the grantor himself. The reference to the making of the grant with the pouring of water (*udaka-pūrvam*), which we come across in a few later records, is also met with here for the first time. The list of the offerings to be brought by the villagers to the donee is now standardised and includes only *bhoga* and *bhāga*. The number of benedictive and imprecatory stanzas quoted in the name of Vyāsa is now raised to four. The date is expressed only in figures, a feature met with in practically all the later inscriptions of the family.

The draft of the next record, *viz.*, the first Mallar plates of Jayarāja (dated in his fifth regnal year), is much more developed and has almost attained the standardised form. The new features met with in this record may be outlined as follows. The description of the king is found fully developed. It is said that his feet were washed by the waters that were the flowing forth of the radiance of the crest-jewels of the feudatories subdued by his prowess, that he was the cause of the tearing out of the parted hair of the women of his enemies, and that he was the giver of cattle, earth and wealth (*vikkram-opanata-sāmanta-chūḍāmaṇi-prabhā-prasek-āmbubhir = dhauta-pāda-yugalo ripuvilāsini-sīmant-oddharaṇa-hetur=viasu-vasudhā-go-pradaḥ*). The two adjectives describing the king's religious affiliation and devotion to parents, which have been noticed in connection with the last two records, also continue. The gift village (actually the gift of the village) is for the first time described as leading to happiness and fame in the abode of the lord of gods, *i.e.*, heaven (*tridaśa-pati-sadana-sukha-pratishihā-kara*), and the grant is said to have been intended to endure as long as the universe with its darkness removed by the rays of the moon and the stars lasts (*yāvad=ravi-śaśi-tārā-kiraṇa-pratihata ghor-āndhakāraṁ jagad=avatishṭnate tāvad=upabhojyaḥ*). Again, the grant is, for the first time, reported to have carried with it right to the major and minor deposits (*sa-nidhi, s-opanidhi*) and to have been exempted from all the taxes (*sarvva-kara-visarjjita*). This is in addition to the exemption from the entry of the regular and irregular soldiers, which is specified in the Pipardula plates of Narendra but omitted in the last two grants. As for the imprecatory and benedictive stanzas, we have now also four. But of these, the first verse, which is met with for the first time, is anonymous and is separated from the remaining three stanzas, which are ascribed to Vyāsa, by a small prose passage asking the addressees to protect the

grant. These three verses are also found in the previous grant, but their order is slightly changed. This order is followed in all the subsequent epigraphs of the family. Strangely enough, verse 1 of the Pipardula plates and verse 2 of the Kurud and Amgura plates, which is found in all the later records, is dropped in this inscription.

This draft with five (instead of the four of the previous record) imprecatory and benedictive stanzas is repeated without any alteration in Jayarāja's Arang plates dated in the fifth year of his reign. The finally developed draft is met with in the next epigraph, *viz.*, Mallār plates of the same ruler's ninth regnal year. The only noteworthy difference between this and the preceding record is that it inserts the word *makuṭa*, 'crown', between *sāmanta* and *chūḍāḍmaṇi* in the inscription of the issuing chief. This draft is repeated without any substantial change in all the subsequent charters.

II

Śarahhapura

As stated above, most of the early charters of the Śarabhapurīyas were issued from Śarabhapura. Of the fifteen charters mentioning the place of issue, only one is issued from a military camp (*skandhāvāra*) and four from Śrīpura, while the remaining ten are issued from Śarabhapura. The first known grant of the family, the Plpardula plates of Narendra, was given away from Śarabhapura. And as the issuer of this charter, Narendra, who is the earliest known monarch of the family, is said to have been a son of Śarabha, we shall not be far from the truth if we assume that the township was founded by or christened after Śarabha.

As regards the identification of Śarabhapura, however, there is total uncertainty, and a number of suggestions has been offered. Cunningham first conjectured that by the elision of the initials it may, through the forms 'Arabhpura' or 'Arbhi', be represented by the modern Arvi, the headquarters of the Arvi tahsil in the Wardha district. Alternatively, he thought that it might be identical with the modern Sambalpur or Sambhalpur, the chief town of the Sambalpur District of Orissa.[37] But, as pointed out by Fleet[38] and Konow,[39] neither of these propositions can be upheld.

Fleet himself observed that if Śarabhapura is represented by any modern place, one must look in the maps for some such name as Sarbhor or Sabhor.[40] He did not suggest any specific identification.

Hira Lal, who believed that the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins were ousted by the Śarabhapurīyas,[41] was of the opinion that 'it may perhaps have been a new name imposed on the conquered city of Śrīpura by the victor from the fabulous animal of that name (*śarabha*), who is believed to be a match for a lion, with reference to the

claim of the Sirpur dynasty to be *Kesarīs* (lions)'.[42] This suggestion, however, cannot be taken seriously as it is now accepted by common consensus that the kings of Śarabhapura preceded by Pāṇḍuvaṁśins in the rule over Śrīpura. Secondly, the idea of the new name being imposed on Śrīpura in allusion to the mythical animal *śarabha* which is a match for a lion is based on the faulty notion that the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins assumed the title of *Kesarin*. It is true that a couple of the members of this dynasty are known to have borne *kesarin*-ending names or titles; but there is nothing to indicate that the family was known as Kesarin. Extant epigraphical evidence leaves no doubt that Śarabhapura was different from Śrīpura. Sudevarāja, the penultimate known member of the dynasty, issued the Nahna plates of his second year, Sirpur and Arang plates of the seventh year, the Raipur plates of the tenth year and the undated Sarangarh plates from Śarabhapura, and the Mahasamund plates of the third year and the Kaovatal plates of the seventh year from Śrīpura. Pravararāja, who was probably a younger brother of and succeeded Sudevarāja issued both of his known charters from Śrīpura. It is evident that Sudevarāja continued to have his capital at Śarabhapura till at least the tenth year of his reign but made Śrīpura his second capital sometime in or prior to his third regnal year and that his successor Pravararāja finally shifted his capital to Śrīpura. When the Pāṇḍuvaṁsin monarch Tīvaradeva or one of his predecessors dispossessed the Śarabhapūrīyas of their dominions, he and, for that matter, his successors continued to have their capital at Śrīpura. The distinction between the two cities is also indicated by the fact that Sudevarāja's charters issued from Śarabhapura were inscribed by Droṇasimha, while those issued from Śrīpura were engraved by Golasimha. Both the charters of Pravararāja, which were given away from Śrīpura, were also incised by Golasiṁha.

Commenting on the Sarabhavaram plates issued by a district officer from Chīkūrapura, Sten Konow proposed to identify Śarabhapura with the present Sarabhavaram, some twenty miles north-west of Rajahmundry (Rajamahendri) and ten miles from the bank of the Godāvarī in Andhra Pradesh,[43] This conjecture was based on the considerations that the Sarabhavaram plates are written in an alphabet almost identical with that of the charters of the Śarabhapurīyas, that they are dated exactly in the same manner as the Śarabhapura grants and that their seal shows the representation of a conch which is seen on the seals of the Sarabhapura charters. Konow also pointed out that similar village names including Śarabhapura occur in other places in the neighbourhood of Sarabhavaram. He was fully conscious that this suggestion was merely a 'loose guess'; but still he felt that Śarabhapura should be looked for not in Raipur or its immediate neighbourhood, but farther to the south. However, notwithstanding close similarity between the names Śarabhapura and Sarabhavaram, the fact remains that no evidence whatsoever connecting the Śarabhapura kings with any part of

Andhra Pradesh had come to light to date, and as such Konow's surmise fares no better than Hira Lal's.

Lochan Prasad Pandeya suggested to identify Śarabhapura with a few localities bearing similar names in the Sambalpur District of Orissa and in the Bilaspur District of Madhya Pradesh. At first he proposed to equate it with Sarabhagarh, the chief town of a big zamindari of the same name in the Gangapur feudatory state (now Sambalpur District) in Orissa.[44] V,V. Mirashi regarded this suggestion as plausible.[45] Alternatively, he thought that its identification with a place called Saravā near Sheorinarayan and the Mahanadi or with Sarbhar near Nandaur in the Bilaspur District is not impossible.[46] In view of the close phonetic similarity between the names and the fact that most of the epigraphic records and coins of the Śarabhapura kings have been found in this area, the identifications proposed by Pandeya, specially the first one quite probable, although in the absence of any definite evidence the question cannot be answered finally at the moment.

D.C. Sircar, probably taking cue from Hira Lal, is inclined to opine that Śarabhapura was situated quite close to Śrīpura in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh and the Pravararāja founded the new capital very near the old city of Śarabhapura which had served as the capital of his forefathers. He is led to this conclusion by the fact that the inscriptions issued from this city have all been found about the Raipur District.[47] This contention is supported by Moreshwar G. Dikshit on the ground of the discovery of Narendra's copper-plate grant at Kurud which is situated in the Raipur District,[48] and that of a coin of Prasannamātra in the lowest stratum at Sirpur superimposed by buildings attributed to the Pāṇḍava kings, which shows the early association of the Śarabhapura kings with Sirpur.[49]

But as already pointed out while examining Hira Lal's view, there is enough evidence to show that the two cities were not situated in close proximity. The fact that two different scribes had to be engaged for inscribing the charters issued by the same king (Sudevarāja) from Śrīpura and Śarabhapura clearly indicates that they were far off from each other.[50] Śrīpura is, for the first time, mentioned in the records of Sudevarāja who was separated from Prasannamātra, whose coin is reported to have been recovered in the excavations at Sirpur (ancient Śrīpura), by at least two reigns, *viz.*, those of Jayarāja and Mānamatra-Durgarāja. The discovery of a single coin of Prasannamātra does not necessarily indicate his (and for that matter early Śarabhapurīyas') association with Śrīpura. It is well known that in ancient India coins once issued continued to circulate for a long time, many a time even after the issuing king or dynasty was supplanted by another.[51] Secondly, Prasannamātra is the only Śarabhapurīya king whose coins have been found. As his successors are not known to have issued coins, it is very likely that they continued to use his specie as legal tender. As such, the stratum yielding Prasannamātra's coin need not necessarily be associated with him. It is note-

worthy in this connection that barring this solitary coin, no evidence of the Śarabhapurīya association has been found in the excavation, and all the other structural remains and antiquities unearthed at Śrīpura belong to the post-Śarabhapurīya period.[52]

In view of these facts it is evident that the city of Śrīpura was probably founded by Sudevarāja during whose reign it appears to have been given the status of the second capital, and the capital was finally shifted to this new city either by Sudevarāja himself sometime after this tenth regnal year or by his successor Prāvararāja.

The latest theory on this question is that of K.D. Bajpai and S.K. Pandey who, after a lengthy examination of the earlier views on the subject, feel inclined to identify Śarabhapura with the modern Malhar (or Mallar) in the Bilaspur District of Madhya Pradesh. In support of their contention they point out that several records of the rulers in question issued from Śarabhapura have been found at and around Malhar, and that a large number of towns and villages referred to in these charters can be shown to be situated in the districts of Bilaspur and Raipur and part of the Raigarh District not far away from Malhar, actually within a radius of fifty kilometres from it. The high antiquity and prosperity of Malhar, which have come to light as a result of excavations, also appear to have induced Bajpai and Pandey to favour this identification.[53] However, this view is not supported by any strong evidence. It is no doubt true that the situation of Malhar answers well the requirements of an ideal capital of a kingdom comprising South Kosala, and its antiquity and cultural richness are also beyond doubt. A good number of the records of the family have also been found at the site. But these facts by themselves do not indicate that it represents Śarabhapura. As pointed out above, Śarabhapura was probably founded by Sarabharāja, the first known member of the family. There is difference of opinion about his period. Bajpai and Pandey place him in the beginning of the fourth century A.D.[54] But the excavated evidence takes back the antiquity of Malhar to *circa* 1000 B.C. As such, this city could not have been founded by Śarabha during whose reign it was in a flourishing conditon. Secondly, excavations have not yielded any evidence to indicate that it was anciently known as Śarabhapura, whereas we learn from Kalachuri inscriptions that during the early medieval period it was called Mallālapattana.[55] The supposition of Bajpai and Pandey that its name was changed from Śarabhapura to Mallālapattana during the Kalachuri period in allusion to god Malhārī Śiva fails to carry conviction.

It will follow from the above discussion that the question of the location of Śarabhapura cannot be answered definitely in the present state of inadequate information, and we have no alternative but to await furture archaeological discoveries which may throw light on this vexed issue. Of course, as observed above,

the identification suggested by Lochan Prasad Pandey has much greater procability than the rest of being ultimately found to be the correct one.

Chronology

The chronology of the Sarabhapura rulers constitutes an equally vexed problem, and most of the theories ventured on the subject are more or less in the nature of guesswork.

It is generally admitted that the Śarabhapurīyas and the Pāṇḍuvamśins are chronologically connected. Hira Lal thought that the former supplanted the letter whom they ousted from Śrīpura.[56] But this view has naturally not found favour with historians. As shown earlier, Srīpura was accorded the status of a capital during the closing years of the Sarabhapurīya rule, and it continued to enjoy the same position under the Pāṇḍuvamśins. This leaves no doubt that the Śarabhapurīyas were predecessors, not successors, of the Pāṇḍuvamśins. This conclusion is also supported by the facts that the records of the latter seem to have borrowed certain phrases from whose of the former[57] and show a comparatively more developed form.[58] The characters employed in epigraphs of the Pāṇḍuvamśa kings are also much more developed than those met with in the inscriptions of the kings of Sarabhapura.[59] And lastly, if the *Mahasāmanta* Indrabalarāja, who is said to have held the office of *sarvādhikārādhikṛita* or chief minister and figures as the *dūtaka* in Sudevarāja's Mahasamund and Kauvatal plates, has correctly been identified with Indrabala, son of the first known Pāṇḍuvamśin ruler Udayana and grandfather of Tīvaradeva,[60] no further evidence is required to establish the priority of the Sarabhapura kings to the Pāṇḍuvamśins.

Some earlier historians were inclined to place the Śarabhapura rulers in the eighth and ninth centuries A.D.[61] They placed the Vākāṭakas and the Pāṇḍuvamśins also during the same period. In the absence of any definite evidence for dating at that time this conclusion was arrived at on considerations of style, language and palaeography. But the discovery of the Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā showed that the Vākāṭakas were contemporaries of the Imperial Guptas, and the dates of the Śarabhapurīyas and the Pāṇḍuvamśins had also to be pushed back to an earlier period,[62] and the Śarabhapura kings are no longer placed in so late a period as the eighth and ninth centuries.

According to some scholars,[63] Mahendra of Kosala (South Kosala), one of the rulers of Dakshināpatha defeated and reinstated by Samudragupta,[64] belonged to the Śarabhapurīya dynasty. It has been suggested that he was probably a brother of Narendra, son of Śarabha, known from his Pipardula and Kurud plates. It is accordingly held that the Sarabhapurīyas launched on their career about the beginning of the fourth century A.D.[65] However, but for the identity of the name-endings of Narendra and Mahendra and the fact that the latter, like the Śarabha-

pura kings, ruled over Soute Kosala, there is, in the present state of our knowledge, nothing to connect him with the Sarabhapurīyas, and a final answer to this question must await future epigraphical discoveries.

At present the only fixed points of the Sarabhapurīya history, which any consideration of date must take into account, are that the dynasty commenced its career with Sarabha after whom the early capital was called Śarabhapura, and that it was succeeded by the Pāṇḍuvamśins of whom Mahāśiva Tīvaradeva wās the first to issue his copper-plate grants from the erstwhile capital Srīpura. It is now generally admitted that Sarabha is probably identical with Sarabharāja, the maternal grandfather of Goparāja who accompanied his friend Bhānugupta in a battle and died after a fierce fight at Eran in the (Gupta) year 191 corresponding to A.D. 510[66] Sarabha or Sarabharāja may, therefore, be placed roughly in the last quarter of the fifth century A.D.[67] Widely divergent opinions prevail about the date of Tīvaradeva who is variously placed from early sixth century to the close of the seventh century A.D.[68] The earliest date for him is suggested by V.V. Mirashi who, after considering a few synchronisms, first felt inclined to date his reign tentatively in the period A.D. 530-550[69] Later, he revised his opinion and proposed to place Tīvaradeva from 560 to 585 A.D.[70] Still later he felt that Tīvaradeva flourished earlier ane dated his reign in 550-565[71] or 535-555 A.D.[72] Of late he has again tried to push back the date of Tīvaradeva and would like us to believe that the rule of the Śarabhapurīyas came to an end in A.D. 520, which, according to him, marks the date of the commencement of Tīvaradeva's rule at Śrīpura.[73] This antedating has been suggested with a view to reinforce the assumed synchronism between Tīvaradeva and the Vishṇukuṇḍin ruler Mādhavarman II which is rendered untenable by a recent epigraphical discovery to which attention had been invited by the present writer.[74] This is not a place for a fullscale discussion on the date of Tīvaradeva,[75] but what must be stressed in this connection is that such an early date is not supported by the extant evidence. Without going into details we should only like to point out that this date is opposed to the evidence afforded by the records of the Śarabhapurīyas themselves.

As stated above, if Narendra's father Sarabha is identified with Goparāja's maternal grandfather Sarabharāja, his date can be fixed in the closing quarter of the fifth century. The last known date of Sarabha's son Narendra is the twenty-fourth year of his reign. It may thus be assumed that he ruled for about twenty-five years, and his reign may accordingly be dated from A.D. *c.* 500 to *c.* 525 This date for his reign also finds support from his Kurud plates which suggest, as will be shown below, that he ruled during the period when the Imperial Gupta power was declining. It is not known as to who succeeded Narendra. The next ruler of the family is Prasanna or, to quote his full name, Prasannamātra who is known from some coins and seal-inscriptions of his son Jayarāja and grandson Sudevarāja. His relationship with Narendra and the length of his reign still remain

unknown. Assuming that his reign as well as that of his immediate predecessor, if any at all, covered a period of about twenty-five years, we may date the conclusion of Prasanna's reign about A.D. 550. The latest known date of Prasanna's son and successor, Jayarāja, being his 9th regnal year, his rule may be taken to have lasted for at least ten years till about A.D. 560. Jayarāja was followed by his brother Mānamātra-Durgarāja about whom we know nothing except the name which is known from the Mahasamund and Kauvatal plates of his son Sudevarāja as well as from the inscriptions on the seals attached to the same monarch's Nahna and Arang plates. As no record of his own reign has come to light so far, it is not known as to how long he ruled. We may tentatively assign him a short reign of about a decade and place the termination of his reign about A.D. 570. Mānamātra-Durgarāja's son and successor, Sudevarāja, ruled for at least ten years as can be inferred from his latest record issued in the tenth year of his reign. Even supposing that he did not rule any further, his rule could not have come to an end prior to A.D. 580. Pravararāja, who succeeded his elder brother Sudevarāja, is known from a couple of copper-plate grants both of which were issued in the third year of his reign. If he, too, is given a reign of about ten years, the termination of his reign may be placed around A.D. 590. Nothing is known about the Śarabhapurīyas after Pravarāja. Even if we assume that the rule of the dynasty came to an end with Pravararāja, who was supplanted by the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa, the beginning of Tīvaradeva's reign cannot be dated before the closing years of the sixth century A.D.[75a]

Another point deserves to be considered in the present context. As pointed out earlier, Indrabalarāja mentioned as the *Sarvādhikārādhikṛita* in Sudevarāja's Kauvatal grant is generally identified with Indrabala, son of the first known Pāṇḍuvaṁśa king Udayana and grandfather of Tīvaradeva. Now if Indrabala was a contemporary of Sudevarāja in the closing years of his reign, some margin will have to be made for the reign of Nannarāja, son of Indrabala and father of Tīvaradeva, before the last named ruler could have come to throne. If we assign a period of about twenty-five years after the close of Sudevarāja's reign for Nannarāja, the reign of Tīvaradeva could not have commenced before *c.* A.D. 615. This event will have to be placed about a decade or more later in order to accommodate the reigns of Pravararāja and Nanna's father Indrabala.

A passing reference may be made here to the Mallar plates of Vyāghrarāja which, according to the prevailing view, have some bearing on the question under consideration. As will be seen later, we do not think that this record has to do anything with the Sarabhapura dynasty. However, it is now generally assigned to this dynasty, and it is held that the kings Jayabhaṭṭārka and Pravarabhattārka and the latter's younger brother Vyāghrarāja were members of this family. In case this view is accepted, provision will have to be made for the rule of Pravarabhattāraka (Pravararāja I, son of Jayabhattāraka who is supposed to be the same as

Jayarāja) and possibly that of his younger brother Vyaghrarāja also. In that case the end of the Śarabhapurīya rule will have to be dated still later.

To sum up, in the present state of inadequate knowledge we can only conclude that the rule of the Śarabhapurīyas terminated about the close of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century A.D. It is not possible to be more precise in the absence of necessary evidence.

Genealogy

The Śarabhapurīya records are, generally speaking, not of much histroical interest inasmuch as they do not contain any genealogical account with the help of which their history could be reconstructed on a secure basis.[76] It is only the seal inscriptions which often give the name of the father and sometimes also the grandfather of the chief responsible for issuing the plates to which the seals in question are attached. And as such, these short epigraphs have been of much help in reconstructing the history of the dynasty with some degree of certitude. There are, however, still a few points about which considerable uncertainty prevails. We may refer to them in brief here.

As the earliest known member of the family, Narendra, describes himself as the son of Śarabha after whom the capital was named, Śarabha may be taken to be the founder of the dynasty. His son Narendra was obviously the next member of the family. The next member of the dynasty, whose copper-plate charters have been found, is Jayarāja. But the seal-inscriptions of Jayarāja describe him as the son of Prasanna[77] who has been rightly identified with Prasannamātra known from some coins.[78] However, in the absence of any other evidence it is not possible to ascertain his relationship with Narendra. It has been conjectured that he was probably Narendra's successor and may have been his son.[79] But this cannot be regarded as certain, and it is not impossible that the reigns of Narendra and Prasannamātra were separated from each other by another reign.[80] In any case, this is still one of the uncertain points in the history of the Śarabhapurīyas. L.P. Pandeya once offered the suggestion that Prasannamātra flourished before Narendra, and that the latter conquered Śarabhapura from the former but was soon driven away by Jayarāja or Sudevarāja.[81] But being opposed to historical facts, this conjecture need not be taken seriously. While there is some uncertainty about the predecessor of Prasannamātra, there is no doubt that he was followed by Jayarāja who clearly describes himself as Prasanna's son. From the inscription on the seals attached to some of the copper-plate grants of Sudevarāja we learn that Prasanna had another son named Mānamātra.[82] No record of Māhamātra has bee reported so far. However, the Mahasamund and Kauvatal plates of Sudevarāja show that his father Mānamātra was also known as Durgarāja. As the prefix *mahat* and the termination *rāja* are attached to his name, there is no doubt

Jayarāja) and possibly that of his younger brother Vyaghrarāja also. In that case the end of the Śarabhapurīya rule will have to be dated still later.

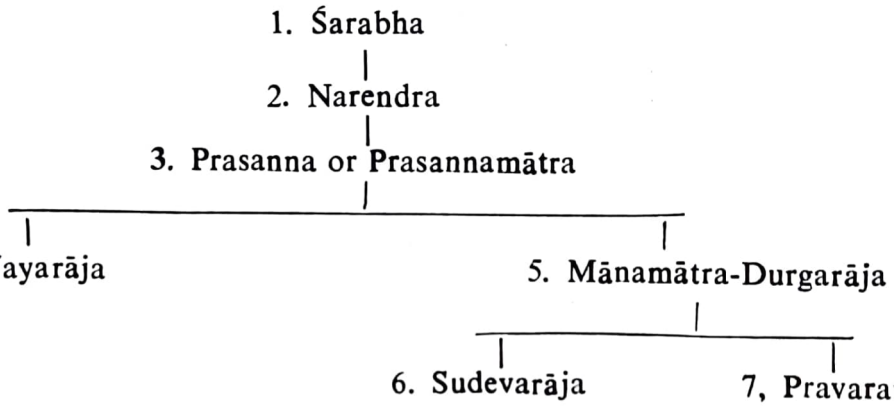
To sum up, in the present state of inadequate knowledge we can only conclude that the rule of the Śarabhapurīyas terminated about the close of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century A.D. It is not possible to be more precise in the absence of necessary evidence.

Genealogy

The Śarabhapurīya records are, generally speaking, not of much histroical interest inasmuch as they do not contain any genealogical account with the help of which their history could be reconstructed on a secure basis.[76] It is only the seal inscriptions which often give the name of the father and sometimes also the grandfather of the chief responsible for issuing the plates to which the seals in question are attached. And as such, these short epigraphs have been of much help in reconstructing the history of the dynasty with some degree of certitude. There are, however, still a few points about which considerable uncertainty prevails. We may refer to them in brief here.

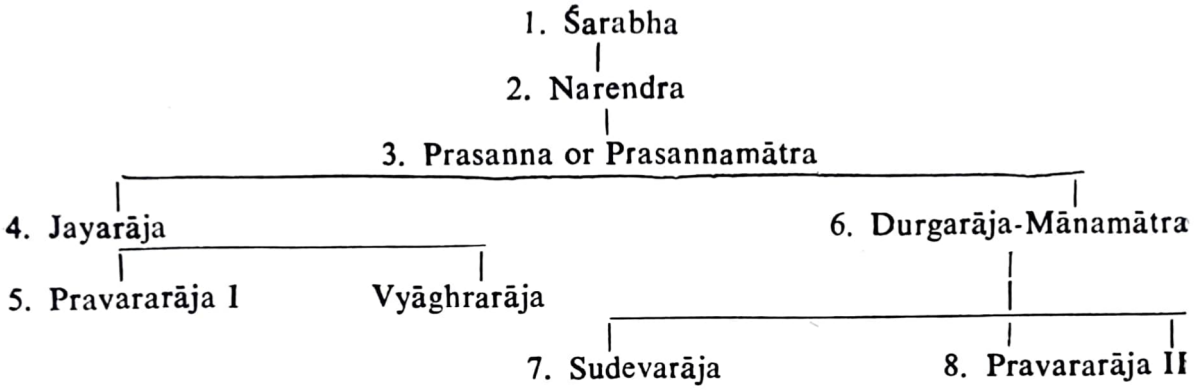
As the earliest known member of the family, Narendra, describes himself as the son of Śarabha after whom the capital was named, Śarabha may be taken to be the founder of the dynasty. His son Narendra was obviously the next member of the family. The next member of the dynasty, whose copper-plate charters have been found, is Jayarāja. But the seal-inscriptions of Jayarāja describe him as the son of Prasanna[77] who has been rightly identified with Prasannamātra known from some coins.[78] However, in the absence of any other evidence it is not possible to ascertain his relationship with Narendra. It has been conjectured that he was probably Narendra's successor and may have been his son.[79] But this cannot be regarded as certain, and it is not impossible that the reigns of Narendra and Prasannamātra were separated from each other by another reign.[80] In any case, this is still one of the uncertain points in the history of the Śarabhapurīyas. L.P. Pandeya once offered the suggestion that Prasannamātra flourished before Narendra, and that the latter conquered Śarabhapura from the former but was soon driven away by Jayarāja or Sudevarāja.[81] But being opposed to historical facts, this conjecture need not be taken seriously. While there is some uncertainty about the predecessor of Prasannamātra, there is no doubt that he was followed by Jayarāja who clearly describes himself as Prasanna's son. From the inscription on the seals attached to some of the copper-plate grants of Sudevarāja we learn that Prasanna had another son named Mānamātra.[82] No record of Māhamātra has bee reported so far. However, the Mahasamund and Kauvatal plates of Sudevarāja show that his father Mānamātra was also known as Durgarāja. As the prefix *mahat* and the termination *rāja* are attached to his name, there is no doubt

that he succeeded Jayarāja on the throne. Mānamātra-Durgarāja was succeeded by Sudevarāja who is described in some of his seal-inscriptions as born from the moon in the form of Mānamātra who had emerged from the ocean that was Prasanna. Mānamātra-Durgarāja had another son named Pravararāja as we learn from the seal-inscriptions of the latter. As we have seen above, Sudevarāja made Śrīpura his second capital, while Pravararāja seems to have finally shifted his capital to that town as indicated by the fact that both of his known charters were issued from there. On the basis of the evidence outlined above the genealogy of the Śarabhapura kings was till recently reconstructed as follows :

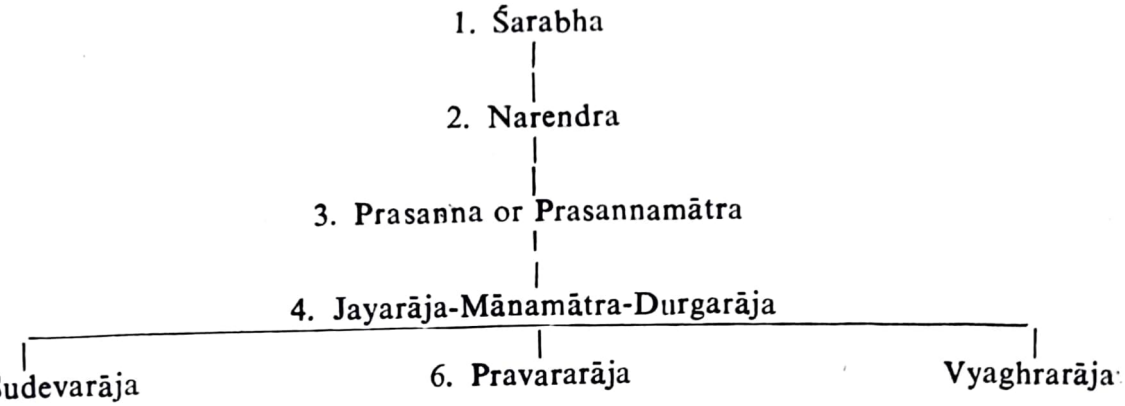


The recent discovery of the Mallar plates of Vyāghrarāja[83] has, however, added new dimensions to the problem. Issued from Prasannapura, this inscription aims at recording the grant by Vyāghrarāja of the village Kunturapadra situated in Pūrvarāshṭra in favour of the Brāhmaṇa *Dīkshita* Agnichandrasvāmin, son of the *Dīkshita* Durgasvāmin. The grant is made on the twenty-seventh day of the month of Pausha in the regnal year which has been variously read as 4[84] or 41.[85] The donor, Vyāghrarāja, is represented as the younger brother of the illustrious king Pravarabhaṭṭāraka who is compared to the traditional kings Pṛithu and Manu, and Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka is said to have been the son of Jayabhaṭṭāraka. Pravarabhaṭṭāraka is further described as the moon on the horizon that is the Amerāryakula. Prasannapura, the place of issue, may have been so called after Prasannamātra of the Śarabhapura dynasty even as Śarabhapura was named after Śarabha. The names Jaya and Pravara are met with during the period represented by this inscription only among the Śarabhapurīyas. The Pūrvarāshṭra, wherein the donated village was situated, is also mentioned in a couple of Śarabhapurīya epigraphs.[86] In view of these considerations it has been suggested that this record also belongs to the Śarabhapurīyas. Accordingly, Jayabhaṭṭāraka of this charter has been identified with the Śarabhapura king Jayarāja, and his son Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka is designated Pravara or Pravararāja I in order to distinguish him from the homonymous son of Mānamātra-Durgarāja who is consequently re-designated Pravararāja II. It is not clear from the inscription if Vyāghrarāja also ruled as an independent monarch, for he is merely referred to

as Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka's younger brother. According to this view, Jayarāja was succeeded by his son Pravararāja I who was followed by his uncle Durgarjāa-Mānamātra. The genealogy reconstructed on these lines may be given as follows[87] :



As against the above reconstruction proposed by D.C. Sircar and G. Bhattacharya, Balchandra Jain, who is also inclined to attribute the inscription to the Śarabhapurīyas, proposes to interpret its evidence in a different manner. According to him, Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka of this record is no other than Pravararāja of the Thakurdiya and Mallar plates. In order to reconcile the evidence of this record with the other Śarabhapurīya inscriptions, he suggests that Pravararāja's father had as many as three different names, *viz.*, Jayarāja, Mānamātra and Durgarāja. Thus, Vyāghrarāja was yet another son of Jayarāja-Mānmātra-Durgarāja.[88] According to this view, the order of succession would be as under :



However, if one examines the inscription closely, the difficulties in attributing it to the Śarabhapurīyas will be obvious. There are greater differences than correspondences between the Śarabhapura records on the one hand and the Mallar plates of Vyāghrarāja on the other. The former, as pointed out earlier, are written in the box-headed characters, whereas the latter are engraved in the nail-headed alphabet with hollow of linear triangular marks forming tops of letters. And lastly, the seals of the two sets of records are quite different from each other.

As stated above, the seals attached to the Śarabhapura charters bear the Abhisheka-Lakshmī figure accompanied by some auxilitry devices in the upper portion, while the lower half invariably contains a two-line legend in the *Anushṭubh* metre. The seal of Vyāghrarārāja's plates, on the other hand, bears a group of three symbols in a row from left to right, to wit, the side-view of a wheel, the head of an animal or bird (probably *garuda*)[89] and a conchshell, in the upper part, and a simple one-line prose legend giving the name of the issuer prefixed by the honorific *śrī* in nominative singular (*śrī-Vyāghrarājaḥ*) in the lower part. Its draft also is quite dissimilar to that of the other set of records in question which got finally standardised during the reign of Jayarāja and is met with in a practically unaltered form in all the records of the family thereafter. To illustrate the point, both the sets of records commence with the mention of the place of issue; but in the Śarabhpura inscriptions this item is quite simple inasmuch as the locality is mentioned without any description whatsoever, whereas in Vyāghrarāja's record it is described in some detail. The former do not give any account of the king's ancestry and the name of the family,[90] while the latter refers to the donor's elder brother and father besides specifying the name of the family. The type of conventional description of the king in the records of the Śarabhapura kings is conspicuously absent in the other epigraph which describes the grantor's elder brother, who was evidently the reigning king at the time, in a manner quite unlike that of the Śarabhapura charters. The notification regarding the grant also presents some new features. Thus, the grants of the Śarabhapurīyas first refer to the district and the granted village, and then the royal command concerning the grant is addressed to the villagers in general without specifying any particular section of the population. As against this, in the record of Vyāghrarāja we find reference to the worshipping of the Brāhmanas, both present and future, while the addresses are the king's servants, and next comes reference to the district and the village. The privileges accompanying the grant and the dues which the residents of the donated village are ordered to pay to the donee according to the Śarabhapura grants are not met with in Vyāghrarāja's record. There is noticed considerable difference in regard to the benedictive and imprecatory stanzas also. Only two of such verses are fully and one partly common to both the sets of inscriptions, while the rest are not. The manner of mentioning the scribe is also quite dissimilar.

Attention should also be invited to another important point. While we have a large number of Śarabhapurīya copper-plate inscriptions, in not a single record do we find the word *bhaṭṭāraka*, which is found used with the names of Vyāghrarāja's elder brother and father, suffixed to the king's name. Likewise, the word *mahat*, which is found prefixed to the names of all the Śarabhapurīya chiefs from Jayarāja onwards, is not attached to the king's name in Vyāghrarāja's grant. In view of these facts we find it difficult to attribute this inscription to the Śarabhapurīyas. The three personages of the Amarārya-kula mentioned in this

record had therefore nothing to do with the Śarabhapurīyas.[91] The fact that they ruled from Prasannapura also proves nothing, for we know that the disappearance or change of a dynasty did not necessarily mean the desertion or change of capital or a town named after a member of another dynasty. We feel that the Amarāryākula kings Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka and Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka were ruling contemporaneously with the later kings of the Śarabhapura family in a part of South Kosala not included in the dominions of the Śarabhapurīyas and taking advantage of the decline of the Śarabhapurīya power, occupied the Mallar region around the end of the sixth or the commencement of the seventh century A.D. This explains why the Amarāryākula (under the name Amaraja-kula) is described in the records of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins of Mekalā as ruling in Kosalā.[92]

Historical Outline

We may now proceed to give a brief historical outline of the Śarabhapurīyas.

Śarabha

The first member of the dynasty known to us so far was Śarabha. No record of Śarabha himself has been reported so far and all our knowledge about him is derived from the Pipardula and Kurud plates of his son Narendra. Śarabhapura, the capital of the family, was founded by or named after him. It can be reasonably inferred from this that the principality over which he ruled was situated somewhere in South Kosala, including parts of both the Chhattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh and the adjoining area of Orissa. If the identification of Śarabhapura with Sarabhgarh were to be conceded, inclusion of some portion of the Sambalpur tract in his kingdom would be beyond doubt. The continuation of parts of Orissa including the adjacent region in the Kalahandi District under the later members of his family is clearly established by the finds of numerous coins of Prasannamātra and the inscriptions of Jayarāja and Sudevarāja. He is generally identified with Sarabharāja, the maternal grandfather of Bhānugupta's contemporary Goparāja, who died in a battle at Eran in 510 A.D. [93] His rule may, therefore, be placed in the last quarter of the fifth century A.D.[94] It appears from the Kurud plates of his son Narendra that, like his daughter's son Goparāja, he, too, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas and ruled over South Kosala as their feudatory. These plates record that the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda* had granted the village of Keśavaka comprised in the district called Chullāḍa-sīmā to a Brāhmaṇa named Bhaśrutasvāmin (or Bhāśrutasvāmin) for the augmentation of his own merit after taking a bath in the Gaṅgā by issuing a charter written on palm-leaves (*tāla-patra-śāsana*), that this palm-leaf charter was burnt down in a conflagration in the donee's house, and that after ascertaining that the donated village was being enjoyed uninterruptedly, *Mahārāja* Narendra endorsed the grant in favour of Bhaśrutasvāmin's son

Śaṅkhasvāmin by means of a copper-plate charter (*tāmra-śasana*) for the increase of the religious merit of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda*. The expression *paramabhaṭṭārka-pāda* was taken by Moreshwar G. Dikshit to refer to *Mahārāja* Narendra's father, Śarabha. As the Śarabhapurīyas ruled only in a part of South Kosala, Dikshit thought that the river Gaṅgā mentioned here could only be the Mahānadī which is one of the most important rivers of this region.[95] But, as rightly observed by D.C. Sircar,[96] the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pada* referred to in this record could only be the contemporary Gupta emperor who alone could have enjoyed the title of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* during this period. This also explains the reference to the making of the grant after taking a bath in the Gangā as on the bank of this river was situated the Imperial Gupta capital Pāṭaliputra. The influence of the Imperial Guptas in South Kosala is vouched for by the discovery of the coins of Mahendrāditya[97] and Kramāditya[98] and the employment of the Gupta era.[99] Prasannamātra's coins, which are modelled on the coins of Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya, also point in the same direction. Budhagupta appears to have been Śarabha's suzerain, though we cannot be quite sure on this point.

Narendra

Śarabha was succeded by his son Narendra. Two of his copper-plate charters have been found so far, one at Pipardula in the Raigarh District and the other at Kurud in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh. The first record is dated in the third and the second in the twenty-fourth year of his reign. He therefore appears to have ruled for about twenty-five years, and his reign may be fixed tentatively in *c.* 500-525 A.D. The Pipardula plates were issued from Śarabhapura and the Kurud plates from the king's victorious (military) camp stationed at Tilakeśvara. The latter record probably indicates that at the time of making the grant he was engaged in a military campaign. The villages mentioned in these two records have been located with some degree of certainty in the Raigarh, Bilaspur and Raipur Districts, indicating that a major portion of this area was included in Narendra's dominions. It is quite likely that Narendra added considerably to the territory inherited by him from his father Śarabha, the territorial expansion being from the Raigarh to the Raipur region. We find some support for this suggestion from his seal-inscriptions which aver that he had conquered the earth by the edge of his sword. In his inscriptions we find no other information about him except that he assumed the title *Mahārāja*, and that he was a devout worshipper of *Bhagavat* or god Vishṇu. In keeping with his sectarian affiliation, he introduced on his seal the standing figure of Gaja-Lakshmī which was continued by his successors.

His Kurud plates show that, like his father, he continued to acknowledge the supremacy of the Imperial Guptas till at least the twentyfourth year of his rule. These plates refer to his overlord as *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda*, while he him-

self bore the much simpler title *Mahārāja*, and the grant was renewed by him for the increase of the religious merit of his overlord. During this period the Gupta empire was distintegrating and, taking advantage of the prevailing political uncertainty, Narendra started ruling almost as an independent monarch. This is indicated by the non-mention of the name of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādā*, the absence of an expression like *paramabhaṭṭārakapād-ānudhyāta*, which is often found employed by feudatory chiefs, and the non-employment of the Gupta era as well as the use of his own regnal years for dating.

Prasanna or Prasannamātra

It is not known definitely as to who succeeded Narendra. We know, however, that the next ruler was Prasanna who is known to us only from the seal-inscription of his son Jayarāja. His full name was Prasannamātra as known from all but one of his coins. These coins, which are of base gold,[100] are manufactured by the repousse technique. The surface of these coins is divided into two halves by a horixontal line running across the entire surface; the upper part, which is shorter than the lower one, bears in all cases except a solitary exception the figure of standing Garuḍa with spread-out wings in the centre flanked by a crescent moon and a wheel on proper right and the sun and a couch shell on the proper left; the lower portion, separated from the upper half by a horixontal line, bears the legend *śrī-Prasannamātra* in the box-headed characters of early sixth century A.D.[101] A recently published coin has a different device in the upper section and the legend *śrī-Pṛasana* in the lower part, all within a circle of thick dots.[102] The coins of Prasannamātra have been reported from an extensive area including the Kalahandi District of Orissa and the Chanda District of Maharashtra besides the Chhattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh. But the inclusion of a substantial part of the Kalahandi region may be regarded as well nigh certain in view of the frequent finds of his coins from the Khariar and Nawapara subdivisions as well as the discovery of epigraphic records of two of his descendants (Jayarāja and Sudevarāja) and the location of some of the localities mentioned therein in the Khariar subdivision, which indicate continued Śarabhapurīya control over this area. But it will be hazardous to draw any such historical deduction regarding the Chanda region where no other evidence of Śarabhapurīya rule has been reported so far. The findspots of his coins many indicate that he ruled over an extensive region though, it must be remembered, it is not always safe to infer the extent of a king's dominions solely from the provenance of his sepecie.[103] The issue of coins by him shows that he was a powerful ruler and had thrown off the yoke of the Guptas and started ruling as a sovereign monarch for all intents and purposes. He appears to have founded a town named Prasannapura which is mentioned as situated on the river Niḍilā in the Mallar plates of Vyāhrarāja. In the absence of any record of Prasannamātra himself, it is difficult to ascertain his regnal period. We may,

however, assign him and his possible predecessor a period of some twenty-five years, *i.e.*, *circa* 525-550.

Jayarāja

Prasannamātra was followed on the throne by his son Jayaraja who is represented by four copper plate charters dated from the third to the ninth year of his reign. Assuming that he ruled for a period of about ten years, we may date his reign from *c.* 551 to *c.* A.D. 560. He was the first member of his family to prefix the word *mahat* to his name, and this practice became so popular that it was adhered to not only by all his successors, but also by the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins and Somavaṁśins, *i.e.*, this practice remained prevalent in the Chhattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh and the adjoining region of Orissa for about six centuries. He also initiated the practice of adding the word rāja at the end of the name. To him, again, is due the credit of giving the standard form to the draft of the copper-plate grants which was adhered to by all his descendants. His records, which were all issued from Śarabhapura, have been found in the Kalahandi District of Orissa and the Bilaspur and Raipur Districts of Madhya Pradesh, indicating that he mainained intact the dominions bequeated to him by his royal predecessor. The same conclusion can be drawn from localities mentioned in his records which have been located satisfactorily in the same area. The allusion to his subduing the ruling chiefs by his prowess in his records[104] and to assailing the enemies by his valour in the seal-inscriptions probably indicates that he made fresh conquests. Mirashi is of the opinion that Jayarāja defeated. Bhīmasena II of the so-called Rājarshi-tulya-kula known from his Arang plates and occupied the Arang region.[105] But we find it difficult to acquiesce in this view as the Arang plates of Bhīmasena II are dated in the Gupta year 282 (=A.D. 601),[106] and not 182 as Mirashi believes,[107] and consequently Bhīmasena II flourished considerably later than Jayarāja. The identification of Jayarāja with Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka mentioned in the Mallar plates of Vyāghrarāja as suggested by D.C. Sircar and G. Bhattacharya is also, as we have shown above, not feasible. B.C. Jain's view that Jayarāja was also known as Mānamātra and Durgarāja is equally improbable.

Mānamātra-Durgarāja

Jayarāja probably died without an issue and was therefore, succeeded by his brother Mānamātra who is described as Prasanna's son in some of the seal-inscriptions of his son and successor Sudevarāja. In two of his epigraphs (Mahasamund and Kauvatal plates) the same Sudevarāja is said to have been the son of Mahā-Durgarāja. It is thus apparent that Mānamātra was also known as Durgarāja (or Mahā-Durgarāja). The word *mahat* prefixed to eis name reveals that he did ascend the throne. In the absence of his own records it is not possible to determine the duration of his reign. But we shall not be far removed from the factual position if we place his reign in *c.* A.D. 570-71.

Sten Konov proposed to identify Mānamātra with the early Rāshṭrakūṭa king Mānāṅka and the former's son Sudevarāja with the latter's son Devarāja mainly on the ground of similarity between these names. In support of his contention he drew attention to lexicographical works which regard *aṅka* and *mātrā* as synonymous.[108] This conjecture was later accepted by J. Dubreuil.[109] This problem has been thoroughly examined by V.V. Mirashi who has demonstrated the untenability of these suggestions,[110] which need not detain us here.

Likewise, the conjecture of Lochan Prasad Pandeya that Durg, the chief town of the district of the same name in Madhya Pradesh, was founded by and named after Durgarāja[111] has been shown to be untenable by Hira Lal[112] who draws attention to two stone inscriptions found at Durg one of which refers to king Śivadeva and the other to Śivadurga and Śivapura associated together, indicating that the fort and the town were separted in the time of Śivadeva who lent his name to both of them. He rightly concludes that the present name Durg or Drug is a contraction from Śivadurga.

Sudevarāja

Mānamātra-Durgarāja appears to have been succeeded by his son Sudevarāja who gives the name of his father as Māhā-Durgarāja in his Mahasamund and Kauvatal plates and as Mānmātra in some of his seal-inscriptions. As many as seven copper-plate inscriptions of his reign have been discovered so far. Their findspots are situated in the Raipur, Bilaspur and Raigarh districts of Madhya Pradesh and the Kalahandi District of Orissa, and their dates range from the second to the tenth year of his reign. The Mahasamund and Kauvatal plates of the third and seventh years respectively were issued from Śrīpura and the rest from Śarabhapura. It seems, therefore that he founded the town of Śrīpura and made it something like his second capital. Śarabhapura, of course, continued to be the main capital. This is clearly shown by the fact that his latest known grant, the Raipur plates of the tenth year, was issued from Sarabhapura. As his latest record is dated in the tenth year of his reign, there is no doubt that he ruled for at least ten years, if not more. Accordingly, his reign may be tentatively dated from *c.* 571 to *c.* A.D. 580.

In some of his seal-inscriptions he is said to have extirpated his enemies by his valour and, according to some scholars, this expression indicates that Sudevarāja had some new conquests to his credit. But as such statements are met with in connection with other rulers also,[113] they need not be taken very seriously. Of course, this is not to deny the possibility of fresh conquests by Sudevarāja. The Mahasamund and Kauvatal plates inform us that Indrabalarāja, who acted as their *dūtaka* or executor, occupied the office of the *Sarvādhikārādhikṛita* under Sudevarāja at least from the third to the seventh year of his reign. This Indrabalarāja is generally identified with the homonymous son of the Pāṇḍunaṁśī

ruler Udayana and grandfather of Tīvadeva. But one cannot be quite sure about this identification which is based solely on the identity of names.

Pravararāja

That Pravararāja was a brother of Sudevarāja is known from his seal-inscriptions which refer to him as a son of Mānamātra. As pointed out earlier, another son of Durgarāja-Mānmatra, Sudevarāja made Srīpura something like his second capital, though Sarabhapura continued to enjoy the status of the principal capital. As both the known charters of Pravararāja were issued from Srīpura, it may be reasonably concluded that during his reign the capital was finally shifted to Srīpura. It will follow that Sudevarāja was succeeded by Pravararāja. Only a couple of records of Pravararāja have been found so far, and both of them are dated in the third year of his reign. He may have ruled for a few years more, and the termination of his reign may be dated around A.D. 590.

In the inscription on the seals attached to his charters he claims to have acquired the earth by the prowess of his own arms. This claim is different from the vague claims made by his predecessors and seems to be based on facts. We may therefore reasonably conclude that he had to his credit some important conquets which probably resulted in the annexation of some new territory. But in the absence of necessary evidence it is not possible to be more precise on this point. The allusion to fresh territorial acquisitions in the seal-epigraphs has led B.C. Jain to the conclusion that the kingdom of Srīpura was established by Pravararāja who, being more ambitious, left Sarabhapura and entrenched himself at Srīpura, and that after his death this new kingdom was also added to Sudevarāja's kingdom of Sarabhapura.[114] This would imply that at least for a few years Sudevarāja and Pravararāja ruled simultaneously, the former from Sarabhapura and the latter from Srīpura. However, in the present state of our knowledge it cannot be regarded anyting better than a gratuitious assumption.[115]

Pravararāja is the last known Sarabhapurīya ruler, and nothing is known about the dynasty after him. Making a little margin for his possible successor and for the extention of the earlier reigns beyond the recorded years, we may date the end of the Sarabhapurīya rule around A.D. 600.

While it is difficult to ascertain the causes of the disappearance of the Sarabhapurīyas with any degree of precision, the Amarāya-kula kings and Bhīmasena II of the Rājarshi-tulya-kula, who issued his Arang plates in G. 282 (A.D. = 601), appear to have contributed to the decline of their power which was finally given a death blow by the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins.

The importance of the Sarabhapurīpaś rn the early history of South Kosala lies primarily in the fact that the period of their rule constitutes the formative stage in its annals. Although this region finds its first epigraphic mention as a political

entity as early as the middle of the fourth century A.D., it got its own personality under the Sarabhapurīyas who were, during their long rule lasting over a century, able to develop certain traditions which were followed with but little alterations by the succeeding ruling families of the region for well over six hundred years. To illustrate only a few points, the practice of getting their official records inscribed on a set of three copper-plates and adding the words *mahat* and *rāja* preceding and following their names respectively, which continued in this region for several centuries, was first introduced by them. The credit of initiating the practice of adopting coronation names, which were, in many cases, different from personal names, is also probably due to them. In particular, the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins built up the superstructure on the foundations so well laid by the Sarabhapurīyas. Not only did they adhere to the above-mentioned traditions, they also continued the use of the box-headed characters in their official records, though the same had long passed out of vogue and even borrowed *ad verbatim* some of the expressions met with in the Sarabhapurīya grants. In fact, the personality of South Kosala is unthinkable without the Sarabhapurī yas.

Notes and References

1. Of the fifteen epigraphs mentioning the places of issue as many as eleven were issued from Śarabhapura.
2. *EI*, xxxiv, pp. 45-50.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 48; B.C. Jain, *Mahanta Ghāsīdāsa Smāraka Saṅgrahālaya: Purātattva Upavibhāga meṁ Saṅgṛīhita Vastuoṁ kā Sūchī-patra*, Part V, *Utkirṇa Lekha*, Introduction, pp. 7-8.
4. For the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā, see *infra*, Ch. *XII*.
5. See Bamhani (*EI*, xxvii, p. 141, verse 10) and Mallar (*Studies in Indian Epigraphy, Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, iii, p. 191, verse 6) plates of Śūrabala. The former grant was earlier attributed to Bharatabala.
6. I. Narendra: (i) Pipardula plates, year 3 (*IHO*, xix, pp. 139-46); (ii) Kurud plates. year 24 (*EI*, xxxi, pp. 263-68); (iii) incomplete Rawan grant (*JESI*, vi, pp. 44-45).
   II. Jayarāja; (i) Angura plates, year 3 *JESI*, iv, pp. 70-75); (ii) Mallar plates, year 5 (*EI*, xxxiiii, pp. 155-57); (iii) Arang plates, year 5 (*CII*, iii, pp. 191-95); (iv) Mallar plates, year 9 (*EI*, xxxiv, pp. 28-31).
   III. Sudevarāja; (i) Nahna (Khariar) plates, year 2 (*EI*, ix, pp. 170-73); (ii) Mahasamund plates, year 3 (under publication in the *JESI*, v, pp. 93-97; (iii) Sirpur Plates, year 7 (*EI*, xxxi, 103-108); (iv) Kauvatal plates year 7 (*ibid.*, xxxi, pp. 314-16); (v) Arang plates year 7 (*ibid.*, xxxi, pp. 314-16); (v) Arang plates, year 7 (*ibid.*, xxiii, pp. 18-23); (vi) Raipur plates, year 10 (*CII*, iii, pp. 196-200); (vii) Sarangarh plates, incomplete (*EI*, ix, pp. 281-85).
   IV. Pravararāja: (ii) Thakurdiya (*ibid.*, xxii, pp. 15-23) and (ii) Mallar (*ibid.*, xxxiv, pp. 51-52) plates, year 3.
7. *IHQ*, xxxiii, pp. 84-85; *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, xi, pp. 13-17.
8. It has been suggested that the plate belongs to Sudevarāja. But this surmise is based on some general considerations which cannot be depended upon for setting the question of attribution.
9. *E.g.*, Sirpur and Kauvatal plates of Sudevarāja and Mallar plates of Pravararāja. The Mallar grant of the 9th year of Jayarāja has a couple of lines on the second side of the last plate.

10. *A.G.*, The second plates of the Mallar grant of the 5th year of Jayarāja and that of the Thakurdiya grant of Pravararāja are thicker than other plates.
11. The corners of the Mallar plates of the 5th and 9th years of Jayarāja are rounded.
12. *E.g.*, Mallar plates of Jayarāja's 5th regnal year and the Raipur plates of Sudevarāja.
13. Thus, the Mallar plates of the 9th year of Jayarāja's reign, the Kauvatal plates and one of the sides of the Sarangarh plates of Sudevaraja, the Mallar plates of Pravararāja and the middle plates of only unattributable grant have square holes.
14. Some seals are slightly less and others more in diameter. The Kurud plates of Narendra and the Angura plates of Jayarāja have seals measuring 2.8" in diameter. The diameter of the seal of the Mahasamund plates of Sudevarāja is 3". Other seals measure 3 1/4" (Arang plates of Jayarāja), 3-5/8" (Raipur and Arang plates of Sudevarāja) and 3.2" (Thakurdiya plates of Pravararāja).
15. Other instances of copper-plate grants to which the seals of the predecessors of the issuing chief were attached, to which D.C. Sircar invites our attention, must also be explained in a similar manner.
16. *CII*, iii, pp. 191 and 196.
17. The objects held by the goddess cannot be made out. V.V. Mirashi thinks that the object held in the raised right hand on the seal of the Thakurdiya plates is lotus (*EI*, xxii, p. 17).
18. But on the seal of the Thakurdiya and Mallar plates of Pravararāja we find water-lily on both sides.
19. On the seals of the Amgura, Arang and second Mallar grants of Jayarāja and the Nahna, Arang and Raipur plates of Sudevarāja. As stated above, on the seal of the Thakurdiya as well as of the Mallar plates of Pravararāja we have water-lily on either side.
20. On the seals of the Mahasamund and Kauvatal plates of Sudevarāja.
21. On the seal of the Kurud plates of Narendra.
22. *EI*, xxii, p. 17. The fact appears to be that this variety was widely prevalent thoughout Central India.
23. Pipardula plates, line 6; Mallar plates of years 5 (line 10) and 9 (line 1) and Arang plates of the 5th year of Jayarāja, (line 11); Nahna (line 10), Sirpur (line 11), Kauvatal (line 10), Arang (line 13), Raipur (line 11) and Sarangarh (line 11) plates of Sudevarāja; the Mallar plates of Pravararāja (line 10); the unassignable stray plate, (line 4). In the Thakurdiya plates, line 9, we have *tāmvra*.
24. Amgura (line 19), Mallar I (line 22) and II (line 25) and Arant plates (line 24) of Jayarāja; Nahna (line 23), Sirpur (line 25), Kauvatal (line 25), Raipur (line 28) and Mahasamund (line 28) plates of Sudevarāja, and Thakurdiya (line 23) and Mallar (line 24) plates of Pravarāja In the Arang plates of Sudevarāja (line 36) we have *simgha*.
25. Arang plates of Sudevarāja, lines 10, 11 and 13.
26. Mallar plates of Pravararāja, line 23.
27. This characteristic is particulary noticed in Telugu.
28. Kurud plates of Narendra, line 20; Mallar II (line 26), Nahna (line 22), Sirpur (line 24), Kauvatal (line 24), Arang (ling 26) plates of Sudevarāja, and Thakuriya plates (line 23) of Pravararāja.
29. Both the Nidhanpur and Dubi plates of Bhāskaravarman, the Bhauma-Nārada king of Kāmarūpa, were issued in confirmation of grants made by earlier rulers of the family. The original characters conveying the grants are said to have been damaged, the former in a conflagration. See *EI*, xii, pp. 66 ff; xix, pp. 115 ff. (Nidhanpur plates); xxx, pp. 287 ff. (Subi plates).
30. *Ibid*, xxvii, pp. 323-24, lines 10-11 and p. 325, line 32.
31. Sirpur plates of Sudevarāja.

32. The symbol is not found in the Mallar and Arang plates of Jayarāja and the Nahna plates of Sundevarava.
33. E. Sachau, *Al-Beruni's India*, i, p. 173.
34. *EI*, xvii, p. 352; *Proceeding of Indian History Congress*, 1939, pp. 471ff; D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 92-93, 95.
35. Both the Mallar and plates of Jayarāja.
36. The Rawan grant of Narendra is incomplete.
37. *Archaeological Survey Reports*, xvii, pp. 57 f.
38. *CII*, iii, p. 193.
39. *EI*, xiii, p. 106.
40. *CII*, iii, p. 193.
41. *EI*, xi, p. 186; *Inscriptions in the Central* Provinces and Berar, p. 101.
42. *EI*, xi, p. 186, fn. 5. *In his Inscription in the Central Provinces and Berar*, p. 105, however, he states that Sarabhapura has yet (1932) been identified. In support of his proposed identification Hira Lal states that the inscriptions of the Sarabhapurīyas have been found in the country round about and in close proximity of Sirpur, *i.e.*, at Arang, Raipur, Khariar and Sarangarh, which enclose Sirpur from all directions, north, south, east and west'
43. *EI*, xiii, p. 108.
44. *Proceedings of All-India Oriental Conference*, 5th Session, i, p. 461. Also se *EI*, xxiii, p. 17; 229, fn. 2.
45. *Ibid.* xxii, p. 17.
46. *IHQ*, xix, p. 144.
47. *Ibid.*, xix, p. 144; *EI*, xxxiii, p. 155.
48. This argument has no relevance to the problem under review and simply indicates the inclusion of the region round Kurud (and for that matter, Raipur) in the territory under Narendra.
49. *Ibid.*, xxxi, p. 264. For a brief account of Sirpur excavations, see M.G. Dikshit in *Raviśaṅkara Sukla Abhinandana Grantha* (Hindi), Ithihāsa Khaṇḍa, pp. 184-91.
50. *Cf. EI*, xxxiv, p. 29.
51. *E.g.*, punch-marked coins continued to circulate for a few centuries after their manufacture. There is epigraphic evidence to show that the silver coins of the early Kalachuri king Kṛishṇarāja were in use for at least one and a half centuries after the termination of the rule of the issuer.
52. These include a few Buddhist structures and inscriptions assignable to the time of Sivagupta Bālārjuna, the last known Pāṇḍuvaṁśin ruler.
53. *Malhar*, 1975-77, pp. 25-29.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
55. *CII*, iv, p. 506, verse 23; p. 515, verse 21.
56. *EI*, xi, p. 186; *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, p. 101.
57. The passage *yath-āsmābhir=ayaṁ. . . . . yāvad=ravi-śaśi-tārā-kirana-pratihata-ghorandhakāram jagad=avatishṭhatetāvad=upabhogyah sa-nidhis=sopanidhir=a-chāta-bhata-prāvesyah*, which is met with in all the records of the kings of Śarabhapura from the 5th year of Jayarāja onwards (it is first noticed in the Mallar plates of Jayarāja's fifth year), is borrowed *ad verbatim* in the Bonda, Rajim and Baloda plates of Tīvaradeva and the Aḍhabhāra plates of his son and successor Nannarāja II.
58. *Cf.* the description of the king in the records of Tīvaradeva and Nannarāja II which is, much more elaborate than that found in any Śarabhapurīya grant and is full of long eulogistic compounds.
59. They are more elongated and angular, and their box-heads oftcn show small horizontal strokes attached to their tops.

60. *IHQ*, xx, p. 275; xxii, p. 63. Of course, this identification cannot be regarded as certain.
61. *EI*, ix, p. 283; Hira Lal, *ICPB*, p. 106.
62. This was first shown by Mirashi. See *EI*, xxii, pp. 15 ff.
63. K.D. Bajpai and S.K. Pandey, *Malhar-1975-77*, p. 32.
64. *CII*, iii, p. 7, text-line 19.
65. K.D. Bajpai and S.K. Pandey, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-32. A clay sealing bearing the inscription *Mahārāja-Mahendrasya* in early Gupta Brāhmī characters found in the excavations at Malhar has been cited in support of this contention. The fact that the inscription on the sealing is not in the box-headed characters which are employed in all the known Śarabhapurīya records, however, goes against the supposed connection of this Mahendra with the Śarabhapura dynasty.
66. *CII*, iii, pp. 91-93. This identification was first suggested by Mirashi in *EI*, xxii, p. 17.
67. Mirashi, however, proposed to place Śarabharaja in *c.* 460-80 A.D. *Vide* his *Studies in Indology*, i, p. 250. Earlier he dated him roughly in the latter half of the fifth century A.D. See *EI*, xxii, p. 17. D.C. Sircar, who accepted Mirashi's identification of Śarabha with Śarabharāja of the Eran inscription, originally placed Śarabha in *c.* 465-480 A.D. (*IHQ*, xix, p. 144) but subsequently rightly proposed to bring it down to the end of the fifth century A.D. (*EI*, xxxiii, p. 156).
68. Some earlier scholars placed him around 800 A.D. But that view is no longer held by any scholar.
69. *EI*, xxii, p. 19. *In Studies in Indology*, i, p. 251, fn. 2, however, this date is given as 500-550.
70. *EI*, xxvi, p. 229; *Studies in Indology*, i, 1st edition, p. 234, fn. 2.
71. *Ganganath Jha Commemoration Volume*, pp. 223 ff; *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 240.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 247.
73. *JESI*, iv pp. 1 ff.
74. *Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma Commemoration Volume* (*JAHRS*, xxxv), pp. 165-168.
75. This will be discussed in detail in chapter *XIII* of this book.

75a. As will be shown in ch. xiii, the reign of Tīvaradeva has actually to be dated much later.

76. The only exceptions are the Mahasamund and Kauvatal plates which name the father of the issuing chief, Sudevarāja.
77. The expression used is *Prasanna-tanaya, i.e.*, son of Prasanna. According to Fleet and some others, the reading of the relevant expression on some of the seals is *Prasanna-hridaya, i.e.*, the heart of Prasanna. But D.C. Sircar thinks that in these cases also the correct reading is *tanaya* and not *hṛidaya*.
78. The prevalence of *mātra*-ending names among the Śarabhapurīyas is noteworthy in this connection.
79. V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, i, p. 249. Also see *The Classical Age*, p. 219.
80. It has been recently suggested that Mahendrāditya known from certain repousse coins found in South Kosala ruled between Narendra and Prasannamātra. See *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 39th Session (1978), i, p. 67.
81. *IHQ*, xix, p. 143, fn. 9.
82. Seals of Nahna and Arang plates of Sudevarāja and Thakurdiya and Mallar plates of Pravararāja.
83. *EI*, xxxiv, pp. 45-50.
84. V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, i, p. 260, fn. 4; B.C. Jain, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Section of the M.G.M. Museum*, Raipur, vi: inscriptions (Hindi), p. 175. This possibility is conceded by Sircar also. See *EI*, xxxiv, p. 50, fn. 2.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 50, text-line 23.
86. *CII*, iii, pp. 191 ff., pl. 195 ff.

87. *EI*, xxxiv, p. 47.
88. B.C. Jain, *op. cit.*, Introduction, pp. 7-8.
89. D.C. Sircar and G. Bhattacharya think that it may be a lion to front.
90. The only exceptions are the Mahasamund and Kauvatal plates of Sudevarāja who is described therein as the son of Mahādurgarāja.
91. For a detailed discussion on this problem, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Mallar Plates of Vyāghrarāja: A re-appraisal", *JESI*, IX, pp. 40-47.
92. *CII*, v, p. 85, text-line 29; *Studies in Indian Epigraphy JESI*, iii, p. 191, text-line 30.
93. *CII*, iii, pp. 91-93.
94. K.D. Bajpai and S.K. Pandey place Śarabha about the beginning of the fourth century A.D. and regard him as different from Goparāja's maternal grandfather. See *Malhar*, p. 32. V.V. Mirashi (*Indological Research Papers*, Nagpur, 1982, p. 188) also now disputes his earlier identification of Śarabha and Śarabharāja without justification.
95. *EI*, xxxi, pp. 263-64.
96. *Ibid.*, pp. 267-68.
97. *JASB, NS*, xliv, No. 309, *JNSI*, x, p. 137; xvi, pp. 216-17; *OHRJ*, i, p. 137.
98. *JNSI*, xxii, pp. 184-87.
99. *EI*, ix, pp. 342 ff; Hira Lal, *ICPB*, pp. 94-96.
100. Lochan Prasad Pandey described these coins as of silver with a faint polish of gold all over. But actually they appear to be of debased gold.
101. B.C. Jain has distinguished two varieties of Prasannamātra's coins in the Bhandra (Chanda District) hoard, *viz.*, variety 'A' bears a cluster of six dots below the letter *sa* of the legend, while variety 'B' has a *ghata* with or without a cover in place of the cluster of six dots (*JNSI*, xvi, p. 217). As pointed out by him, the six coins in the Central Museum, Nagpur, published by V.P. Rode (*ibid.*, xii, pp. 8-10) belong to the second variety. R. Burn regards these pieces as seals or medals (*Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, viii, p. 12). For other references, see *Proceedings of All-India Oriental Conference*, 5th Session, i, pp. 495 ff; *IHQ*, ix, pp. 46 ff; xv, pp. 475-76; R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar (ed.), *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 87, fn. 3; *ASI, AR*, 1926-27, p. 230.
102. M.L. Nigam in *JNSI*, xiii, Part ii, p. 50. This is a new variety.
103. Being portable and useful to meet necessities of life, coins often travel to places far away from the area for which they were originally meant. This is particularly true of gold and silver coins.
104. Such a statement is, for the first time, met with in Jayarāja's records and consequently appears to be based on some historical facts. However, this statement is repeated by all his descendants. No historical significance can be attached to this borrowing.
105. *Studies in Indology*, i, p. 253.
106. *EI*, ix, pp. 342 ff; *ICPB*, No. 170, pp. 94-96; *IHQ*, xxii, pp. 62-63.
107. *EI*, xxvi, pp. 227 ff; *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 252-57.
108. *EI*, ix, p. 172.
109. *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 77.
110. *ABORI*, xxv, pp. 25 ff; *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 195 ff.
111. *IHQ*, xxi, p. 295.
112. *ICPB*, p. 136, No. 232.
113. *E.g.*, Narendra and Jayarāja.
114. B.C. Jain, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 8.
115. For some interesting suggestions regarding the later history of the dynasty, see J.K. Sahu, "Last Days of the Śarabhapurīyas", *PIHC*, 39th Session, pp. 67-70. He distinguishes between Mānamātra and Durgarāja and believes in the existence of two Sudevarājas.

12

PĀṆḌAVAS OF MEKALĀ

The Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā are one of those Central Indian dynasties which have come to light during the last five decades. Till about a decade back all our knowledge about them was based entirely on the Bamhani plates which were till then attributed to Bharatabala who was supposed to be the last member of the line. The recent discovery of the Mallar plates of its last known member, Śūrabala *alias* Udīṛṇavaira, has shown that the Bamhani plates also belong to Śūrabala, son of Bharatabala. The Mallar plates have helped solve some and raised a few other problems appertaining their history which also gets some light from an unexpected source, *viz.*, the Malga plates of *Sāmanta* Indrarāja, and a Purāṇic passage. We now know that these rulers had nothing to do with the Vākāṭakas, rose to power about the beginning of the sixth century AD and extended, their authority over the Mallar region of South Kosala immediately prior to the rise of what are commonly known as the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins. The extant evidence does not permit us determining the exact relationship between the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā and their Kosalan counterparts; but it is likely that the latter were lineal descendants of the former.

It is not even four decades since the Pāṇḍava chiefs of Mekalā found a place on the historical map of India. Their existence was first brought to light by the discovery of Bamhani[1] plates of Śūrabala *alias* Udīṛṇavaira[2] which, though found in 1940, were first published in *Epigraphia Indica*, xxvii, meant for 1947-48 but actually released in 1956.[3] The recently[4] published Mallar plates of the same ruler[5] have contributed a little more to our knowledge about the history of the dynasty and helped remove some of the erroneous nations based on the defective wording of the *praśasti* portion of the Bamhani plates.[6] Another stray plate forming part of another copper-plate charter of the dynasty has been reported a few years ago from Burhikhar which forms part of the present township of Mallar.[7] However, since it contains a portion of the genealogical section, it does not admit of attribution and is of no historical value.

The two complete records, *viz.*, Bamhani and Mallar plates of Sūrabala *alias*

Udīrṇavaira, constitute practically the only source of information about these rulers, and it is, therefore, in the fitness of things to say a few words by way of introducing these inscriptions. Both these charters are engraved on a set of three plates of copper. The outer side of the first plate is left blank in both these cases. While the second side of the third plate of the Bamhani plates is also left uninscribed, that of the Mallar grant bears writing. It was also intended to be left blank, but as the writer could not accommodate the writing up to the lower end by the inner side of the last plate, the remaining lines had to be engraved on its outer side. The plates are rectangular and a little larger in the middle than at the corners. The hole for the passage of the ring, which is invariably circular, is bored in the centre at the top which seems to have been a characteristic feature of the copper-plate grants hailing from the Baghelkhand region.[8] The ends of the ring are soldered under a roughly round seal. The seal affixed to the Mallar plates bears on its surface, which is divided into two almost equal sections by a horizontal line running across it, the Nandin (bull) couchant to left in the upper portion and a one-line prose legend comprising a single word, which probably served as a *viruda* of the issuing chief, in nominative singular (*Śrīpurushaḥ*). The seal of the Bamhani charter, which at present looks blank, may also have borne the same device and legend or may have been left plain for some unknown reason. The characters are of the nail-headed variety of the southern alphabets prevalent in Central India during the period represented by these records, *viz.*, sixth seventh century A.D. Both these charters are in Sanskrit and composed in a mixture of prose and verse. The *praśasti* portion is couched in various metres, the verses highlighting the achievements of the members of the dynasty being in some cases interspersed with short prose passages introducing them. The grant portion, as usual, is in prose. Both these inscriptions aim at recording grants of villages. The Bamhani plates register the king's grant to a Brāhmaṇa, while the beneficiary of the Mallar plates was a shrine of god Jayeśvara-bhaṭṭāraka (*i.e.*, god Śiva called Jayeśvara-bhaṭṭāraka),[8a] and the grant was made by a private individual named Narasiṁha, son of Boṭa and grand son of the trader Manoratha, who had got the donated village from the king and made the grant with the latter's permission. The object of the latter grant was evidently the maintenance of the temple including the provision for worship and repairs, and as it purports to register a grant in favour of god Jayeśvara-bhaṭṭāraka, it is referred to, at the beginning, as the charter (*śāsana*) of that god. The dates of both these charters are given with reference to regnal years, and the month, the fortnight, the *tithi* and the *nakshatra* are also specified. In one case (Mallar plates) the weekday (*Budha-dina*) is also recorded.

These inscriptions begin with the auspicious formula *siddhuam* (indicated by a symbol) *svasti* (Bamhani plates) or *om svasti* (Mallar plates), which is followed by the *praśasti* outlining the history of the family up to the time of the issuing chief. The *Praśasti* in the Mallar plates is preceded by the statement that this charter of

the illustrious Jayeśvara-bhaṭṭāraka is written with Udīrṇavaira's permission. Whereas the first two chiefs are described only in verses, the subsequent members of the dynasty are introduced by short prose passages which followed by verses eulogising them. Next we find the notification of the king's order regarding the grant with such details as the mention of the village to be granted, the grantee and the privileges accompanying the grant. This is followed by the request to the future members of the dynasty to maintain the grant, imprecatory stanzas, and the specification of the date, the writer and the engraver.

Both these epigraphs have an almost identical draft with only some minor variations. Some of the verses (1, 5, 10 and 11) in the *praśasti* section of the Bamhani plates are reproduced in the Mallar plates (verses 1, 4, 6 and 7) which are separated from the former by a period of six years.[9] But a majority of the eulogistic stanzas met with in the former are dropped in the latter,[10] which in its turn has some verses not found in the former,[11] a deliberate attempt to reduce the number of verses being perceptible in the case of the Mallar plates. To be exact, the Bamhani plates contain as many as eleven stanzas, whereas there are only seven such verses in the Mallar plates. We notice the same tendency towards brevity in the grant portion as well as imprecatory verses.[12]

In the very first stanza of both these inscriptions the first member of the family is said to have been born in Mekalā. Likewise, the villages given away by means of these charters are represented to have been situated in Mekalā which was, for administrative purposes, divided into provinces (*rāshṭras*) each of which was sub-divided into districts (*vishayas*). It is evident from these facts that the name Mekalā denoted the region under the rule of this family which is consequently popularly known among historians as the Pāṇḍava Dynasty of Mekalā'. The name Mekalā still survives in the range of hills called the Maikal range which provides the connecting link between the Vindhya and the Satpura ranges and extends from the Rewa region to the Khairagarh area in Madhya Pradesh.[13] Really speaking, it constitutes a spur of the Vindhyas the eastern portion of which is known as Amarkantak. In ancient Indian literature Mekala figures as the name of a mountain range from which the river Narmadā originates and is accordingly spoken of, figuratively of course, as 'the daughter of Mekala, (*Mekala-sutā or Mekala-kanyakā*). It is also found used to denote a country and its inhabitants.[14] In a territorial sense, it seems to have referred to the region round the Maikal range. When employed for the country, the name is almost always used as a feminine and spelt as terminating in long *ā*, *i.e.*, Mekalā,[15] and this finds support from the records in question in both of which it is spelt likewise. The same is true of the Mandhal,[16] Mahurjhari[17] and Balaghat[18] plates of the Vākāṭaka king Pṛithivīsheṇa II all of which refer to the country as Mekalā.[19] But such literary

references as are available do not give us a clear idea of the extent of the Mekalā country which, as usual, must have fluctuated from time to time with changing political vicissitudes. However, it may be justifiably inferred from the present inscriptions that under the Pāṇḍavas, particularly under Śūrabala, it had a wide extent covering a fairly extensive area of the Baghelkhand region of Madhya Pradesh and included the southern part of the Shahdol District, eastern part of the Mandla District and the northern part of the Bilaspur District.[20] The Mallar plates prove that during the reign of the last known member of the family, Śūrbala, a considerable part of the Bilaspur District including the Mallar region was also under the Pāṇḍavas and it is stated to have been included in Mekalā which, as shown above, served as the designation of the dominions of the dynasty in question. The application of the name was evidently extended so as to cover even fresh areas brought under its rule from time to time.[21]

The very opening stanza of our records represents the first known member of the dynasty, Jayabala, as born in the lineage of the Pāṇḍavas in the Mekalā country. A verse (11) of the Bamhaṇi plates refers to the lineage in which Śūrabala was born as *saumya* or 'of gentle nature'. However, this seems to be a case of *śleṣha* or *double entender*, and the word in question is in all probability also intended to describe the family as descended from the moon.[22] The correctness of this conjecture is placed beyond doubt by a stanza (7) of the Mallar plates which, as if to leave no room for doubt, clearly refers to the family both as *saumya* (*i.e.*, 'of gentle nature') as well as *somasya vaṁśa* (*i.e.*, 'family of the moon'). It is not unlikely that the claim to belong to the lunar lineage is also hinted at in the description of Śūrabala's father Bharatabala who is described as possessing fame resembling the rays of the moon.[23] Be that as it may. There can be no doubt whatever that the family was known both as Pāṇḍava and Soma-vaṁśa like its counterpart in South Kosala.

In the absence of reference to the place of issue of the copper-plate charters of the family or information from any other source it is not possible, in the present state of inadequate knowledge, to locate the capital of the Pāṇḍava kingdom of Mekalā. V.V. Mirashi is inclined to locate it at Bandhogarh, some sixty miles north-west of Bamhani, the findspot of one of the grants (Bamhani) of Śūrabala.[24] He has, however, not cited any evidence in support of his contention. The supposed relationship of the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā with Bhadrabāla,[25] the father of *Rājan* Vaiśravaṇa, known from an inscription found at Bandhogarh,[26] which is based almost entirely on the apparent similarity of the name-ending *bala* and obviously forms the main basis of this contention, cannot be substantiated as will be shown in due course. K.D. Bajpai and S.K. Pandey hold that the capital of Jayabala's family was at Śarabhapura which, according to them, was the earlier name of Mallar.[27] While there is no doubt that Mallar formed part of the dominions of the last known member of the dynasty, we have absolutely no evidence to justify

the location of the dynastic capital at Mallar. Moreover, as we have shown elsewhere,[28] the identification of Śarabhapura with Mallar is quite uncertain, if not untenable. Under these circumstances it will be best to leave the question open till the discovery of some more definite evidence which may enable us to finally clinch the issue.

We may now proceed to set out the historical contents of the Bamhani and Mallar plates of Śūrabala *alias* Udīrṇavaira. They supply us the following genealogy of the dynasty:

Jayabala
|
Vatsarāja
|
Nāgabala
|
Bharatabala
|
Śūrabala

Though Jayabala is the first member of the dynasty known from our records, we do not get any information of historical nature regarding him. He is merely stated to have been born in the lineage of the famous Pāṇḍavas in the Mekalā country, styled *rājan* and described as the foremost amongst the ruling chiefs (*kshitipati-tilaka*). He is described in a purely conventional manner and is said to have acquired great renown and to have been endowed with the best of qualities and a handsome figure.[29]

Jayabala is said to have been succeeded by his son Vatsarāja who seems to have been more illustrious and powerful as compared to his father. He is compared to the traditionally famous Vatsa king Udayana[30] and is reported to have won victories in battles and assailed the enemies by the prowess of his arms and made the gardens attached to the palaces of his foes teem with wild beasts. He is also styled 'king' (*kshitīśa* and *nṛipati*) and described as the foremost of the ruling chiefs.[31] A lady named Droṇa-bhaṭṭārikā was his queen.

The son and successor of Vatsarāja was Nāgabala who is said to have been born of his queen Droṇa-bhaṭṭārikā. He is described briefly in a purely conventional manner in a single verse which makes a vague allusion to his wars against his enemies in which his cavalry and elephantry are said to have played an important role.[32] However, in a short prose passage, which is first introduced while describing him and repeated with necessary changes in regard to formal details in connection with his descendants, he is styled *Mahārāja*. Whether he was the first member of the family to assume the title *Mahārāja* cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge as its absence like that of other epithets in connection with his two predecessors may not have been deliberate and can be

explained away as due to the fact that they are eulogised only in verses which did not allow the use of this title. But in case its use with reference to the earlier chiefs is deliberate, Nāgabala's assumption of the superior title would indicate that he was more powerful as compared to his predecessors and declared his independence and sovereign status, the earlier members of the family being vassals of some other power. He is further described as a devout worshipper of Maheśvara (*Parama-māheśvara*), great honourer of the Brāhmaṇas (*paramabrāhmaṇya*) and as highly devoted to the teachers and the supreme divinity (*parama-guru-devatādhidaivata-viśesha*).[33] His queen was Indra-bhaṭṭārikā.

The son and successor of Nāgabala born of his queen Indra-bhaṭṭārikā was Bharatabala[34] who is described in greater detail than any of his ancestors.[35] This may be due to the fact that he was more powerful or that he happened to be the immediate predecessor of the issuer of these charters. In the prose passage introducing him he is also given the title of *Mahārāja* and is described as a devout devotee of Maheśvara, a great worshipper of the Brāhmaṇas and as highly devoted to the teachers and the supreme divinity. He was also known as Indra and is likened to the lord of gods, Indra, in valour and destruction of his enemies[36] and to god Agni in brilliance. Furthermore, his birth from Indra-bhaṭṭārikā is compared to that of the god Kārttikeya from Pārvatī, the daughter of the lord of mountains, *viz.*, Himavat. It is stated in verse 5 of the Mallar plates that the ruling chiefs everywhere sang his praises wherein he was likened to the epic hero Bharata, younger brother of Rāghava and born in the family of Daśaratha.[36a] The statements that like a gigantic quarter-elephant he covered all the directions with a multitude of resounding trees in the form of overbearing enemies pulled down and torn asunder by him and that he gave refuge to the fortune of the host of his enemies slain by him when she approached his arms may be taken to indicate that he won some important successes against his enemies. He married a princess, probably named Lokaprakāśā,[37] born in the Amaraja-kula in Kosalā. She is described in glowing terms, though the description is purely conventional in character. On account of her crystal-like pure character and strict observance of self-restraint and self-discipline she is compared to the sacred river Jāhnavī, *i.e.*, Gaṅgā, which descended on the earth from the heaven. She appears to have been blessed with a pretty long life as will follow from the statement that she attained a sublime status by virtue of being blessed with grandsons and great-grandsons who were foremost among princes and devoted to discipline and justice. The high praise showered upon her probably indicates that the family attached great importance to Bharatabala's marriage with her, probably due to the accession of power and prestige that it may have brought in its train.[38] It is pertinent to note in this connection that the consorts of the preceding two monarchs, who are also named, are not eulogised in this high-flown style.[39]

Bharatabala was succeeded by his son *Mahārāja* Śūrabala who was also known as Udīrṇavaira.[40] Apart from the conventional matter of fact description in the short prose passage which is also found employed with reference to his father and grandfather,[41] only a single verse is devoted to him in both the charters.[42] This stanza states that he extirpated his enemies and overpowered all the quarters by the pair of his lotus-like feet fervently rubbed by the heads of many a vassal subjugated by his perfect triple power.[43] In all probability, he assumed the *viruda* Śrīpurusha.[44]

While it is not possible in the present state of insufficient information to ascertain the extent of the principality under the rule of the first four monarchs, we may justifiably infer from the localities named in the two complete grants and their provenance that Śūrabala *alias* Udīrṇavaira held sway over a fairly extensive territory covering all the regions mentioned above as included in Mekalā.

Both the available complete charters of the family are dated with reference to the regnal years of the issuing chief, and consequently the period of the Pāṇḍava rule over the Mekalā region has to be determined on other grounds. B. Ch. Chhabra has made an attempt to fix the chronology of the Pāṇḍavas on the basis of verse 11 of the Bamhani plates which, in his opinion, makes a veiled allusion to the Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena who was, according to him, Bharatabala's overlord. It has been suggested that there is a pun on the word *narendra* occurring at the end of this verse which, while referring to Bharatabala, means 'king', whereas otherwise it stands for his Vākāṭaka overlord Narendrasena.[45] This suggestion, which has found favour with most of the scholars,[46] is evidently inspired by the statement in some of the copper-plate inscriptions of the Vākāṭaka king Pṛithivīsheṇa II that the behests of his father Narendrasena were honoured by the lords of Kosalā, Mekalā and Mālava.[47] Taking A.D. 435-470 as the regnal period of Narendrasena,[48] equating the second year of Bharatabala's reign[49] roughly to A.D. 460 and assigning a period of two decades to each reign, Chhabra arrived at A.D. 399-400 (roughly A.D. 400) as the approximate date of Jayabala's rise to power.[50] Mirashi is also inclined to date the accession of Jayabala to about A.D. 400 and place the reign of Bharatabala in *circa* A.D. 460-480[51] D.C. Sircar is in favour of a slightly later date and places the reigns of Nāgabala and Bharatabala in the second half of the fifth century A.D.[52] However, a close scrutiny of the available evidence brings to surface the difficulties in accepting these suggestions. First of all, the discovery of the Mallar plates has shown conclusively that the Bamhani plates, too, do not belong to Bharatabala but to his son Śūrabala *alias* Udīrṇavaira, and that the stanza till recently supposed to refer, though in a somewhat concealed manner, to the Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena actually describes the latter. Therefore, if the verse in question actually contains a veiled allusion to Narendrasena as the Pāṇḍava chief's overlord, the Pāṇḍava feudatory of Narendrasena would turn out to be Śūrabala and not his father Bharatabala. But in reality

there is no question whatsoever of any reference to Vākāṭaka Narendrasena in this stanza, and the word *narendra* must be taken simply in the sense of 'king', and it is employed only as an adjective of Udīrṇavaira who is explicitly named just before it. In fact, had there been no mention of the Mekalā king as obeying the commands of Narendrasena in the Vākāṭaka records, no one would have even distantly thought of any indirect allusion to the Vākāṭaka monarch in this stanza. What is particularly astonishing in this connection is that Chhabra and Mirashi proposed to correct an incorrectly engraved word in verse 11 of the Bamhani plates to *sārvabhauma* which they rightly rendered as 'sovereign' and 'paramount ruler' respectively.[53] Furthermore, in the same verse we find mention of the feudal chiefs falling at the feet of Udīrṇavaira which should leave no doubt that Śūrabala *alias* Udīrṇavaira, the grantor of these as well as the Mallar plates, regarded himself as a paramount ruler with a number of chiefs acknowledging his suzerainty, and there could be absolutely no question of his even nominally acknowledging anybody else's supremacy and making even a veiled allusion to him. In order to explain away the so-called equivocal manner in which the allegiance to Narendrasena was supposed to have been expressed, Chhabra observed that Narendrasena's "overlordship was more in name only, that Mekalā under the kingship of Bharatabala was an internally autonomous state, and that the prestige of its king was not much inferior to that of his suzerain or both of them were perhaps more or less on friendly terms. It looks as if Bharatabala was not bound to acknowledge Narendrasena's overlordship in the charter issued by him, but that it was out of courtesy that he did so and that wilfully in an indirect manner."[54] However, had the Pāṇḍava chief been so very anxious to refer to his Vākāṭaka overlord, however nominal, even by as a matter of courtesy, he would have done so explicitly and would not have resorted to such a roundabout manner as would not allow it to be recognised without the help of some Vākāṭaka records referring to Narendrasena's overlordship over the Mekalā king. However, the futility of all this exercise will become obvious the moment we realise that the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā flourished considerably after the Vākāṭakas had disappeared from the political map of India, as will be shown presenstly. In view of this fact the attempt of some scholars to identify the Pushyamitras, who, the famous Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta informs us,[55] had developed great power and resources but were vanquished by Skandagupta, with the Pāṇḍava king Bharatabala who, it is suggested, had transferred his allegiance from the Imperial Guptas to the Vākāṭakas and invaded the Gupta empire with the backing of Narendrasena,[56] is totally unwarranted.

Fortunately, we have some more dependable evidence for determining the period of the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā. The family to which Bharatabala's queen Lokaprakāśā, who is represented as born in Kosalā, belonged has been sought to be identified variously. Chhabra thought that possibly she hailed from the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa of South Kosala.[57] Mirashi and Sircar demonstrated the untenability of

this view, the grounds on which their observations were based being different. Mirashi pointed out that the Pāṇḍava dynasties of Kosalā and Mekalā must have been *sagotra*, if not *samānodaka*. and marriages between *samānodakas* and *sagohtras* are not permitted under the Hindu law.[58] Sircar invited attention to the fact that the Pāṇḍava occupation of South Kosala took place at a later date.[59] Mirashi held that she hailed from the Śūra dynasty known from the Arang plates of Bhīmasena II[60] and was probably a daughter of Bhimasena I, the fourth member of the family, while Sircar regarded her as a princess of the Śarabhapurīya family.[60a] However, it is stated in both the Bamhani and Mallar plates that Lokaprakāśā was born in the Amaraja-kula about which nothing was known at the time of the publication of the Bamhani plates. However, after the discovery of the Mallar plates of Vyāghrarāja[61] there can be no doubt that the Amaraja-kula referred to in the Bemhani and Mallar plates of Śūrabala is identical with the Amarārya-kula to which Vyāgharāja and his elder brother Pravarabhaṭṭāraka and father Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka belonged.[61a] The Amarārya-kula is commonly identified with the Śarabhapurīya family because of the mention of Prasannapura, apparently named after the Śarabhapurīya chief Prasanna or Prasannamātra, the names Jaya and Pravara known to have been borne by the members of this dynasty and the administrative division Pūrva-rāshṭra which is known to have been mentioned in a couple of Śarabhapurīya records. But as we have shown elsewhere,[62] this notion is not supported by the extant evidence, and the Amarārya-kula chiefs Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka and Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka were ruling contemperaneously with the later members of the Śarabhapurīya dynasty in an area of Kosala not included in the later's kingdom and annexed the Mallar region sometime about the end of the sixth or the commencement of the seventh century A.D. Consequently, Bharata-bala, who wedded a lady of this family, cannot be placed earlier than the second half of the sixth century A.D. And even if we concede, for argument's sake, the now popular equation between the Amarārya-kula (or Amaraja-kula) and the Śarabhapurīyas and, resulting therefrom, that between Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka of the former dynasty and Jayarāja of the later family, the date proposed by us would not be affected adversely. For, in the light of the evidence now available, Jaya-rāja's reign cannot be dated earlier than about the middle of the sixth century A.D.[63] And even if Lokaprakāśā was a sister or daughter of Jaya-rāja, *i.e.*, Jaya-bhaṭṭāraka, the reign of her husband cannot be placed anterior to the third quarter of the sixth century A.D., and, in reality, it may have to be placed still later. And in case she is taken to be a daughter of Pravararāja, *i.e.*, Pravara-bhattāraka, the reign of Bharatabala will have to be dated in the closing years of that century. The reigns of Bharatabala and his son Śūrabala may, therefore, be reasonably placed in the closing decades of the sixth and the early years of the following centuries A.D.

Mention must be made in this connection of the Malga plates of *Śamanta*

Indrarāja[64] which supply very valuable evidence bearing on this question. As we have pointed out elsewhere,[65] in respect of general appearance, formal features, drafting, the list of addresses of the royal order concerning the grant, the privileges bestowed on the grantee, the mode of recording the date as well as other matters the Malga plates and the extant records of the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā resemble each other very closely and, what is still more instructive, the scribes of these records were related to one another as brothers. We may infer from these facts that *Sāmanta* Indrarāja was in some way connected with the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā, though it is not possible to determine the exact nature of this relationship in the present state of our knowledge. The only extant record of Indrarāja, it must be noted, was also found in the same Shahdol District of Madhya Pradesh wherein is situated the village of Bamhani which has yielded the first known grant of the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā. The Malga grant has been placed, on palaeographical grounds, about the first half of the seventh century A.D.[66] In view of the close similarities verging on identity between these records there can be no doubt that they were not separated from each other by any considerable length of time and that the Pāṇḍava inscriptions cannot be dated much earlier than the beginning of the seventh century A.D. or the end of the preceding century.[66a]

It will thus follow that the popular notions regarding the history of the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā stand in need of a thorough reconsideration and revision. Taking into consideration the aforesaid evidence bearing on their chronology, we may justifiably hold that Jayabala, with whom the historical account of the dynasty begins in its records, rose to power about the commencement of the sixth century A.D., and his reign may be dated in *c.* A.D. 500-525, while the next three quarters of the centuary may be allotted to the reigns of the next three kings, *viz.*, Vatsarāja, Nāgabala and Bharatabala. The accession of the next chief, Śūrabala *alias* Udīrṇa-vaira, may accordingly be dated around A.D. 600. The end of the fifth and the beginning of the following centuries A.D. witnessed a decline in the power of the Imperial Guptas which afforded an opportunity for the rise of new political powers which, to begin with, acknowledged the Gupta suzerainty and later asserted their independence after the fall of the Gupta empire. It was exactly during this period that the Maukharis, Later Guptas, Maitrakas and the Sarabhapurīyas found a place on the political map of India, first as vassals of the Guptas and then as sovereign powers about the middle of the sixth century A.D. The same appears to have been the case with the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā. The first two members of the dynasty, Jayabala and Vatsarāja, were in all probability feudatory chiefs owing allegiance to the Guptas, howsoever nominal it may have been. The next member, Nāgabala, rose to power at a time when the Gupta empire had collapsed and fully exploited this opportunity and declared his independence as indicated by his assumption not only of the title of *Mahārāja* but also of the superior epithet *Parama-guru-devatādhidaivata-viśesha* which was usually borne by paramount rulers.

His successors Bharatabala and Śūrabala Udīrṇavaira were also paramount rulers and further consolidated their position by annexing new territories.

The historical accounts of the Purāṇas probably contain an allusion to the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā. According to the dynastic text as reconstructed by Pargiter, seven chiefs ruled in Mekalā for seventy years.[67] In the preceding line we find mention of thirteen Pushyamitra and Paṭumitra chiefs who also appear to have been connected with Mekalā. As we have seen above, historians are generally inclined to identify the Pushyamitras vanquished by the Gupta emperor Skandagupta[68] with the Pushyamitras known from the Purāṇas who in their turn are sought to be connected with the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā. Though this equation is totally unwarranted in the light of the aforesaid chronological considerations, the compilers of the historical sections of the Purāṇas appear to have been familiar with the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā. This is evident from a version of the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* containing the reading *balavān Jayo bhavishyati* (instead of the reconstructed reading *Pushyamitrā bhavishyanti*) which undoubtedly alludes, albeit in a slightly veiled manner, to the first Pāṇḍava monarch Jayabala.[69] According to Pargiter, the account containing these references relates to the third century A.D.,[70] and therefore, it may be argued that we should not expect any reference here to the Pāṇḍavas if they flourished as late as the sixth-seventh centuries A.D. However it is now generally agreed that the earlier notion that the dynastic portions of the Purāṇas had been finalised in the early Gupta period is erroneous and that they allude to some later members of the Gupta dynasty also.[71] Moreover, this objection, if at all upheld, is equally applicable to the popular notion which places the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā in the fifth century A.D.[72] But the number of the Mekalā chiefs is given as seven in the Purāṇas, whereas only five Pāṇḍava kings are known so far. Let us hope, therefore, that future epigraphic discoveries may bring to light some more members of the dyuasty.[73]

According to V.V. Mirashi, the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā were related to some earlier chiefs known from a few early epigraphs found at Bandhogarh.[74] The word *bala* forming the concluding part of the names of most of the Pāṇḍava chiefs reminds him of *Mahāsenāpati* Bhadrabāla (According to Mirashi, Bhadrabala), father of *Rājan* Vaiśravaṇa, referred to in two Bandhogarh inscriptions.[75] He holds that Bhadrabaāla was an army-commander of the contemporary Magha chief, and that his son Vaiśravaṇa, who is styled *Rājan*, ruled over a small principality near Bandhogarh where a couple of inscriptions of his reign have been found. In his opinion these two persons (Bhadrabāla and Vaiśravaṇa) were ancestors of Jayabala.[76] For this purpose he rejects the theory identifying Bhadrabāla with the Magha king Bhadramagha and the identification of the former's son, *Rājan* Vaiśravana, with the homonymous Magha king who styled himself *Mahārāja*. the latter because of difference in the regal titles assumed by them.[77] He further holds that *Mahārāja* Lakshmaṇa known from his Pali[78] and Singrauli[79] plates of the year

158, which he proposes to refer to the Śaka era instead of its common attribution to the Gupta era,[80] and Balavarman, an Āryāvarta chief defeated by Samudragupta,[81] belonged to the Magha dynasty and that after uprooting the Maghas Samudragupta annexed the fertile Vatsa country (Allahabad region) and parcelled out the hilly region of Baghelkhand among his vassals including the Pāṇḍavas who were given the Mekalā region.[82]

This theory rests, however, on very weak grounds and is beset with other difficulties. To begin with, the name of *Rājan* Vaiśravaṇa's father as mentioned in the inscriptions in question is Bhadrabāla, not Bhadrabala, and consequently there is no identity of name-endings on which this reconstruction is based. Secondly, there is no doubt that the identification of *Mahāsenāpati* Bhadrabāla and the Magha chief Bhadramagha is totally unwarranted.[83] But the identification of *Rājan* Vaiśravaṇa with the Magha king *Mahārāja* Vaiśravaṇa cannot be disputed simply on the ground of a slight difference between the regal titles, for such differences are noticed elsewhere also.[84] Strangely enough, Mirashi himself strongly upholds these identifications elsewhere.[85] Thirdly, the ascription of the year 158 of the charters of Lakshmaṇa to the Śaka era is not warranted by the palaeographic evidence which favours a late date.[86] Fourthly, there is nothing to indicate the association of Lakshmaṇa and Balavarman with the Magha dynasty. And last but not the least, as has been shown above, the surmise that Jayabala and Samudragupta were contemporaries is not supported by the available data. We may, therefore, conclude that the available evidence does not justify postulating any relationship between *Menāsenāpati* Bhadrabāla and the Pāṇḍavas.

We know nothing of the Pāṇḍava kingdom of Mekalā after Śūrabala. How long he continued to rule after the eighth regnal year when the Mallar plates were issued cannot be ascertained for want of necessary evidence. But about the same time as he was ruling over a large principality including some area of the Chhattisgarh region, another line of Pāṇḍava chiefs started ruling in South Kosala. This cannot be regarded as merely a coincidence, and these two lines of rulers appear to have been related to one another though in the present state of our knowledge we are not in a position to determine the exact nature of this relationship. The claim of both the dynasties to have originated from the Pāṇḍava lineage and belonged to the lunar race and the *bala*-ending name of the Pāṇḍava chiefs of Kosalā[87] are pointers in this direction. Then again, the first known member of the Pāṇḍava dynasty of South Kosala, Udayana, is known to have been ruling in a region not far away from the Principality of the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā.[88] As against these points indicating some sort of relationship between the two lines, we find a few important differences which cannot be ignored. Thus, while all but one Pāṇḍava chiefs of Mekalā had *bala*-ending names, only one Pāṇḍava ruler of South Kosala (Indrabala) bore such a name. Likewise, while the charters of the Pāṇḍavas of

Mekalā are incised in the nail-headed characters and couched in a mixture of prose and verse, those of the other Pāṇḍava dynasty are engraved in the box-headed characters of the Central Indian alphabet[89] and composed entirely in prose.[90] All the Kosala Pāṇḍavas beginning with Tīvaradeva and names with the word *mahat* prefixed to them,[91] while no such practice was followed by their Mekalā counterparts. With the exception of a single name (Indrabala) the names of the Kosala Pāṇḍava chiefs were quite different from those of the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā. And last but not the least, all the Pāṇḍavā chiefs of Mekalā appear to have devout Śaivas though the title *Paramamāheśvara* is applied to only three of them. The Pāṇḍava chiefs of Kosalā, on the other hand, were, with a single exception,[92] followers of Vaiṣhṇavism. Some of these points can be explained away on grounds of regional requirements and individual predilections. Thus, it is possible that after settling down in South Kosala they substituted box-headed characters for the nail-headed variety as the former had been current in their newly adopted area for quite some time, and it had become a convention to have copper-plate records incised in these characters. The composition of copper-plate inscriptions of the Kosala Pāṇḍavas in a matter-of-fact style in prose only[93] can also be explained on the same ground.[94] The prefixing of *mahat* to the names was also borrowed from the Śarabhapurīyas. They may have also gradually given up the use of *bala*-ending names as they were not current in Kosala. Sectarian differences, which are not unoften known to occur even in the same dynasty, may have been due to personal likes and dislikes. There is, however, one point which is not so easy to explain. Some of the records of the Pāṇḍavas of Kosala give a fairly long account of the family history, and in all such cases the account begins with Udayana.[95] Had the two dynasties been lineally related to one another and had the Pāṇḍavas of Kosala been the direct descendants of their Mekalā counterparts, one whould naturally expect this account to mention some of the Pāṇḍava chiefs of Mekalā and actually trace their descent from them, which is, however, not the case. This is apparently the greatest stumbling block in regarding the Pāṇḍavas of Kosala as lineal descendants of their counterparts in Mekalā. It is not impossible, however, that Śūrabala *alias* Udīrṇavaira, the last known Pāṇḍava chief of Mekalā, and Udayana were brothers, and that the former, having passed away without a male issue to follow him on the throne, was succeeded by the later. And in such a situation the Kosala Pāṇḍavas naturally traced their family history from Udayana.[96] All this is, however, a pure guesswork, and at the moment we should rest content with the position that the two Pāṇḍava families hailed from the same stock and were closely related to one another. The final verdict on the question as to whether their relation was collateral or lineal can be passed only when more evidence becomes available.

Notes and References

1. In the Shahdol District of Madhya Pradesh.
2. These plates were till recently believed to have been issued by Bharatabala. But a perusal of the Mallar plates of Śūrabala *alias* Udīrṇavaira reveals that this erroneous impression was due to the omission of a prose passage introducing Śūrabala in the Bamhani plates, apparently due to oversight on the part of the scribe.
3. In the meantime B. Ch. Chhabra, the original editor of the record, published an article entitled "Kingdom of Mekalā" highlighting the historical data contained in the *Bhārata Kaumudī* (Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee Volume), Part I, Allahabad 1945, pp. 215-19. V.V. Mirashi has re-edited the record in his *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas*, *CII*, v, pp. 82-88.
4. In 1976.
5. *Studies in Indian Epigraphy* (*JESI*), iii, pp. 182-93.
6. Both these records have been re-edited by the present author in his forthcoming work *Inscriptions of the Śarabhapuriyas, Pāṇḍuvaṁśins and Somavaṁśins*.
7. *ABORI*, Diamond Jubilee Volume, pp. 433-37.
8. The copper-plate charters of the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas* Hastin (J. F. Fleet, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors*, *CII*, iii, nos. 21-24) and Saṅkshobha (*ibid.*, no. 25) and the Mahārājas of Uchchakalpa, *viz.*, Jayanātha and Śarvanātha (*ibid.*, nos. 26-31), as well as the Malga plates of *Samanta* Indrarāja have holes in the upper part.

8a. The shrine was possibly named after Jayabala, the first member of the Pāṇḍava dynasty.

9. The Bamhani plates were issued in the second regnal year, while the Mallar charter was given in the eighth year.
10. As many as seven verses (2-4 and 6-9) of the Bamhani grant are left out in the Mallar plates.
11. Verses 2, 3 and 5 found so far only in the Mallar plates and were apparently added to the official draft some time after the Bamhani plates were issued.
12. The Bamhani charter mentions five government officers and contains three imprecatory stanzas, while we notice only a couple of officers and the same number of imprecatory verses in the Mallar plates. Even as regards the mention of the writer and the engraver, some details found in the Bamhani plates are left out in the Mallar grant.
13. H.C. Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, 2nd edition, p. 134; D.C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, 2nd edition, p. 43, fn. 1.
14. For these references, see *EI*, xxvii, p. 135; D.C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 3; Ajay Mitra Shastri, *India as seen in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira*, p. 54.
15. In the historical texts of the Purāṇas also the name terminates in long *ā*. Vide F.E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 51.
16. *Vidarbha Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala Vārshika*, Nagpur 1977, p. 171, text-line 17.
17. *Ibid.*, 1971, p. 75, text-line 22.
18. *EI*, ix, p. 271, text-line 28. Also see *CII*, v, p. 81. F. Kielhorn, who first edited the record, thought that Mekalā was a mistake for Mekala, See *EI*, ix, p. 271, fn. 9.
19. These references show that the impression of some scholars that Mekala was the name of the country, while the word *Mekalā* denoted the capital of is unwarranted. The same is true about the distinction sought to be made between Kosala and Kosalā.
20. This is supported by the territorial divisions and localities mentioned in the records of the family. B. Ch. Chhabra states that 'the whole of Mekalā comprised the south-eastern part of the Rewa State, portions in the north of the Bilaspur District and some area in the east of the Mandla District'. *Vide EI*, xxvii, p. 138.

21. The inclusion of of a considerable part of the Bilaspur District including Mallar in Śūrabala's dominions is vouched for not only by the provenance of this record but also by the identification of the village granted through it (Saṅgama) in the Bilaspur District.
22. In all probability, the intended reading of the relevant portion of the verse in question in the Bamhani plates is *saumyaḥ somasya vāṁśaḥ* (instead of *soumyah so=yañ=cha vāṁśah*) which is met with in the Mallar plates.
23. *EI*, xxvii, p. 141, verse 10; *Studies in Indian Epigraphy* (*JESI*), iii, p. 191, verse 6.
24. *Studies in Indology*, i, p. 235; *CII*, v, Introduction, p. xxvi.
25. Mirashi spells his name as Bhadrabala with the object of connecting him with the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā most of whom had *bala*-ending names. *Vide ibid.*, Introduction, p. xxvi; *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 231-32.
26. *EI*, xxvi, pp. 185-86, nos. xviii and xix and plate facing p. 186.
27. K.D. Bajpai and S.K. Pandey, *Mallar*, p. 23; K.D. Bajpai, 'New Light on the Early Pāṇḍava Dynasty of South Kosala', *ABORI, Diamond Jubilee Volume*, p. 436.
28. *Prāchya Pratibhā*, v (i), p. 19.
29. See the opening verse of Bamhani and Mallar plates
30. This comparison was evidently suggested by the name Vatsarāja.
31. This account is based on verses 2-3 of the Bamhani plates and verse 2 of the Mallar grant.
32. See verse 4 of the Bamhani plates and verse 3 of the Mallar charter.
33. It will be seen that our interpretation of this expression is different from that of B. Ch. Chhabra (*EI*, xxvii, p. 136) and D.C. Sircar (*Indian Epigraphical Glossary* p. 236) who take it respectively in the sense of 'distinguished as a highly venerable personage, a deity and a supreme divinity' and 'one who is great teacher to his subjects and is devoted to the various gods and of (*sic*) the supreme divinity'. This expression is comparable to *parama-guru*; *parama-brahmaṇya*, *parama-daivata* and *parama-devat-ādhidaivata* which we often come across in inscriptions.
34. This is the full form of the name. But he is also referred to simply as Bharata (Bamhani plates, text-line 15 and verse 8; Mallar plates, text-line 21), indicating thereby that the name-ending *bala*, which is suffixed to the names of all except one (Vatsarāja) members of the family, has to be taken as something like a surname.
35. His description covers as many as four verses (3-8) in the Bamhani plates and two stanzas (4-5) in the Mallar charter.
36. The comparison is obviously inspired by the fact that Bharatabala was also known as Indra.

36a. This equation is apparently due to the identity of names. However, the description of Bharata as born in the family of Daśaratha (*Daśaratha-kula-janmā*) looks a bit strange, for Bharata was actually a son, not descendant, of Daśaratha.

37. The manner in which the word *lokaprakāśā* is used makes one doubt if it was really her name and not a qualifying adjective describing her as' well-known (literally, 'resplendent') in the world'. However, if it were to be taken merely as an adjective, one will have to concede that the queen, who is otherwise described in great detail, has been left unnamed. We must remember, however, that in the prose passage introducing her son Śūrabala also her name is not mentioned though the names of the mothers of his two predecessors are clearly specified in the prose passages describing them. B. Sitaraman and M.J. Sharma have suggested that the name of Bharatabala's queen and Śūrabala's mother was Mahādevī which is met with in the prose passage introducing Śūrabala in his Mallar plates (*Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, iii, pp. 187-88). But if this suggestion is accepted, we shall be facing the strange situation that while the title *devī* (queen) is used in the prose passages before the names of the mothers of Nāgabala,

and Bharatabala, it has been dropped with reference to the issuing chief's mother. Of course it may be argued, though with not much justification, that the word *mahādevī* here serves the dual purpose of her personal name as well as her title (chief queen). But the same may be said with equal justification about the word *lokaprakāśā*.

38. This is comparable to the marriage of Samudragupta with the Lichchhavi princess Kumāradevī and that of the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena II with Chandragupta II's daughter Prabhāvatīguptā which are invariably referred to in the Gupta and Vākāṭaka records respectively.
39. They are mentioned merely as the mothers of Nāgabala and Bharatabala in the prose passages introducing them.
40. This name figures independently in the prose passage at the beginning of the Mallar plates. In fact, it is also found in verse 11 of the Bamhani plates, but the wording of the stanza did not allow it to be recognised as a personal name, and it was consequently regarded only as an adjective. This is identical with verse 7 of the Mallar plates.
41. There is, however, a significant difference. In case Mahādevī was not the name of Bharatabala's queen, it will have to be conceded that Śurabala's mother has been left unnamed. We feel that the name, which was probaly Lokaprakāśā, has been left out inadvertently.
42. Verse 11 and 7 respectively of the Bamhani and Mallar plates.
43. The three powers, according to ancient Indian writers on polity, are *prabhu-śakti*, *mantra-śakti* and *utsāha-śakti*. For their definition, *vide Kauṭiliya Arthaśāstra* (ed. R.P. Kangle, Bombay 1960), vi. 2. 33. For other references, see P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, iii, pp. 171-72.
44. This can be inferred from the legend on the seal of the Mallar plates.
45. *Bhārata Kaumudī* (Studies in Indology in honour of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee), i, p. 219; *EI*, xxvii, pp. 137 and 145, fn. 1.
46. V.V. Mirashi *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas*, *CII*, v. pp. and 83-84; *Studies in Indology*. i, pp. 234-35; S.R. Goyal, *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 276-77. But *contra* D.C. Sircar in *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 92; *The Classical Age*, p. 223.
47. *CII*, v, p. 81, text-lines 27-28; *Vidarbha Saṁśodhana Maṇḍaḷa Vārshika* (Marathi) for 1971 p. 75, text-lines 22-23; for 1977, pp. 171-72, text-lines 17-18.
48. This date was based on K.P. Jayaswal, *History of India 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.*, p. 101. Mirashi (*Studies in Indology*, i, p. 231, fn. 2) is in favour of a slightly later date for the beginning of Narendrasena's reign which he places in the period 450 to 470 A.D.
49. This is the date of the Bamhani plates which, however, belong to Śūrabala.
50. *Bhārata-Kaumudī*, i, p. 219; *EI*, xxvii, p. 138.
51. *Studies in Indology*, i, p. 233. However, if we were to accept Mirashi's view that Jayabala was raised to power by Samudragupta, the former's accession will have to be dated around 350 A.D. and the commencement of Bharatabala's reign about 425 *A.D.*, *i e.* much earlier than the accession of Narendrasena.
52. *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 92; *The Classical Age*, p. 223. He places the Bamhani plates about the close of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century A.D.
53. *EI*, xxvii, pp. 142. (fn. 3) and 145; *CII*, v, pp. 86, (fn. 3) and 88. It is noteworthy, however, that the corresponding stanza of the Mallar plates shows that this correction is uncalled for.
54. *EI*, xxvii, p. 137.
55. *CII*, iii, pp. 63-64, text-lines 10-11, verse 4. D.R. Bhandarkar, however, adopts H.R. Divekar's reading *yudhy=amitrāṁś=cha* in place of *Pushyamitrāṁś=cha* (*ABORI*, i, pp. 100-01) and, according to this reading, there is no reference to the Pushyamitras. See D.R. Bhandarkar, *Inscriptions of the Early Guptas*. *CII*, iii (revised), p. 315 and fn. 2. Jagannath Agrawal has checked the reading from the orignal stone and finds the reading *Pushyamitrāṁś=cha* more probable. See his *Researches in Indian Epigraphy and Numismatics*, p. 43.

56. S.R. Goyal, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-77.
57. *Bhārata Kaumudī*, i, p. 217; *EI*, xxvvii, p. 138.
58. *Studies in Indolohy*, i, p. 234.
59. *The Classical Age*, p. 222.
60. *Studies in Indology*, i, p. 234; *CII*, v, Introduction, p. xxvi.
60a. *The Classical Age*, p. 222.
61. *EI*, xxxiv, pp. 45-50. For a detailed discussion about some aspects concerning this record, see our paper in *JESI*, ix, pp. 40-47.
61a. The family probably owed its name to a person named Amara whom it may have regarded as its progenitor. Amara and Amarārya were evidently the same *ārya* being only an honorific termination often found suffixed to personal names. For some such instances, see Wasim plates of Vindhyaśakti II, *CII*, v, p. 97, text-lines 10-18.
62. See supra, ch. XI. It may be pointed out in this connection that there are striking differences between the Sarabhapuriya grants and the Mallar plates of Vyāghrarjā, and the arguments adduced in favour of the identification of the Sarabhapurīyas and the Amarārya-kula are illusory.
63. See ch. xi. pp. 20-25; *Prachya Pratibha*, v, pp. 20-25; supra, Ch. XI.
64. *EI*, xxxiii, pp. 209-14.
65. Ajay Mitra Shastri, "A Note on the Malga Plates of Samanta Indrarāja", *Sri Venkateswara University Oriental Journal*, xxi-xxii, pp. 19-25.
66. D.C. Sircar and S. Sanyaranarayana, who edited the Malga plates for the first time, surmised that Indrarāja ruled as a semi-independent ruler sometime between the death of the Maukhari chief Grahavarman about 605 A.D. and the establishment of Harshavardhana's power over the erstwhile Maukhari kingdom shortly thereafter or sometime after Harshavardhana's death in 647 A.D. See *EI*, xxxiii, p. 211.
66a. See our paper in *Bhāratī-bhānam* (Dr. K.V. Sarma Felicitation Volume, ed. S. Bhaskarn Nair), pp. 439-443.
67. *Mekalāyāṁ nṛipāḥ sapta bhavishyant-iha saptatiṁ*. F.E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 51.
67a. *Pushvamitrā bhavishyanti Paṭumitrās=travodaśa. Ibid.*
68. However, as we have seen above, the reading of the portion of verse 4 supposed to refer to the Pushyamitras is doubtful, and some epigraphists are in favour of reading *yudhy=amitrāṁś=cha* instead of *Pushyamitrāṁś=cha* with the result that there is no mention of any particular enemy but adversaries in general.
69. See S.N. Roy, *Historical and Cultural Studies in the Purāṇas*, p. 170.
70. F.E. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 50 and 73.
71. *Vide* P.L. Gupta, *The Imperial Guptas*, i, pp. 116-17, where important Purāṇic allusions to the Gupta emperors Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta are cited. Likewise, V.S. Agrawala (*Matsya Purāṇa: A Study*, pp. 228-31; *Purāṇa*, vi, p. 229) is inclined to see in king Pramati mentioned in the *Matsya Purāṇa* an allustion to Chandragupta II, while the present writer has suggested his identification with Samudragupta (*Nagpur University Journal*, xviii, pp. 140-44).
72. In fact, the very portion mentioning the Pushyamitras, and the seven Makalā kings and taken to refer to political conditions as obtaining in the third century A.D. contains reference to the Nalas who ruled in the fifth and later centuries. See Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 51 (*Nala-vaṁśa-prasūtāś=cha vīryavanto mahābalāḥ*).
73. It is also possible that predecessors of Jayabala being insignificant chieftains, their names were consciously omitted in the official records of the family.
74. *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 231-34; *CII*, v, Introduction, p. xxiv.

75. *EI*, xxxi, pp. 185-86, nos. XVIII and XIX.
76. *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 231-32, *CII* v. Introduction, p. xxvi.
77. *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 231-32. But *contra*, *ibid.*, pp. 152 ff., where Mirashi supports these identifications.
78. *EI*, ii, pp. 363-65 and plate opp. p. 364.
79. *ASI*, *AR*, 1936-37, p. 88.
80. *Studies in Indology*, i, p. 233, fn. 2. The only evidence adduced against the reference of this year to the Gupta era is the non-reference to the Gupta suzerain. However, we have some other cases of the non-mention of the Gupta overlords in the records of their vassals.
81. *CII*, iii, Fleet's edition, p. 7, text-line 21. The ascription of Balavarman, commonly regarded as the same as the homonymous ancestor of the Bhauma-Nāraka monarch Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, to the Magha dynasty is obviously prompted by the desire to bridge the gap between the last known Magha king Vijayamagha and the Gupta emperor Samudragupta. The same can be said about the ascription of Lakshmaṇa to the Magha dynasty.
82. *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 165 and 233.
83. For a detailed discussion, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Kauśāmbi Hoard of Magha Coins*, pp. 25-26. *Vide* also *Itihas*, iv, p. 39. Supra, Ch. X.
84. Thus, on the tiger-slayer type coins of Samudragupta we find the title *Rājan* instead of the usual *Mahārājādhirāja*, while the lyrist type coins of Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I give the names of the issuing emperors without any regal title. Even as regards the Maghas, Bhimasena is styled *Mahāraja* in his Ginja (Luders' list, no. 906) and Bandhogarh (*EI* xxxi, p. 177, no. 1) inscriptions, while he is styled simply *Rājan* on his terracotta sealing found in the excavations at Bhita (*ASI*, *AR*, 1911-12, p. 51, no. 27). See also Shastri, *Kauśāmbi Hoard of Magha Coins*, pp. 23-24 and 27-28.
85. *EI*, xxvi, pp. 298-99; *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 154-55.
86. The distinctly late forms of characte.s and the use of almost correct Sanskrit point to late date. If these records are taken as dated in the Śaka era, they will have to be regarded as the earliest copper-plate charters reported so far. And such an early date is not supported by a distinctly developed appearance in all respects.
87. *Viz.*, Indrabala, son of Udayana, the first known member of the dynasty.
88. This is based on the identification of Udayana mentioned in the records of the Pāṇḍava dynasiy of South Kosala with the homonymous chief known from an inscription at Kalanjar in the Banda District of Uttar Pradesh. A stanza from this inscription has been quoted by F. Kielhorn in *EI*, iv, p. 257, fn. 4, and *JRAS*, 1905. p. 62. For an unsatisfactory eyecopy of this inscription, see A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, xxi, pl. ix. L. This inscription has not been published so far. We are editing it.
89. Nail-headed characters are employed only in stone inscriptions which are mostly private records.
90. Except only customary imprecatory stanzas.
91. It is quite likely that Tivaradeva's predecessors also had names beginning with *mahat*. But this cannot be ascertained in the absence of their copper-plate characters. As Tivaradeva, Nannarāja II and Śivagupta Bālārjuna bore such names, there can be no doubt about Chandragupta and Harshagupta, who intervened between Nannarāja II and Śivagupta, bearing such names even though their records are yet to be reported.
92. *Viz.*, Śivagupta Bālārjuna, the last known king of the dynasty.
93. Except, of course, the imprecatory stanzas towards the end.
94. It is noteworthy in this connection that the Pāṇḍuvaṁśin records borrow some of the phrases from the Śarabhapurīya copper-plate characters.

95. Udayana is mentioned as the first member of the dynasty not only in the so-called Bhandak (preferably Arang: there is controversy about its exact findspot with different scholars favouing Bhandak, Arang and Ratanpur, the first in the Chanda District of Maharashtra and the last two in the Raipur and Bilaspur District respectively of Madhya Pradesh; but the claim of Arang appears stronger) inscription of the time of Nannarāja I, father of Tīvaradeva, but also in a Sirpur stone inscription of the last known Pāṇḍava monarch of Kosala, Mahaśivagupta Bālārjuna (*IA*, xviii, pp. 179-81, verse 2).
96. Mirashi also suggested that Udayana was a son of Bharatabala, also known as Indra, and that Udayana's son Indrabala was named after his grandfather whom he proposed to designate as Indrabala I. See his *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 235-36. But at that time the existence of Bharatabala's son Śūrababa, which came to light as a result of the discovery of his Mallar plates, was not known.

13

CHRONOLOGY OF THE PĀṆḌUVAṀŚINS OF SOUTH KOSALA

The Pāṇḍavas or Pāṇḍuvaṁśins of the line of Udayana, who claimed a lunar descent, held sway over the Chhattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh and the adjoining tract of Orissa for about one and a half centuries. They were closely connected with and probably lineally descended from the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā and are known to have come into contact with some other contemporary powers controlling adjoining as well as distant areas. They contributed substantially to the formation of a separate political and cultural identity of Kosala and carried forward the traditions initiated by the Śarabhapurīyas. The chronology of their rule has, however, been a matter of heated debate for well over a century ever since their records came to light. Earlier writers on the subject proposed to date them about the fifth or eight-ninth centuries AD. while the recent trend has been to place them in the sixth-early seventh centuries A.D. Last few decades have thrown up a lot of new epigraphic material which necessitates a re-thinking over the problem. This new evidence forces us to date their rule in the seven-eighth centuries AD, with a possible spill over in the early years of the following century.

The early Somavaṁśins, or Pāṇḍuvaṁśins as they are popularly designated by the historians, played a vital role in the early history of the Chhattisgarh region of the present state of Madhya Pradesh and the adjoining tract of Orissa, while the later Somavaṁśins extended their authority so as to cover practically the whole of Orissa. Their rule constituted a formative period of the cultural personality of this area. We know from their fairly numerous lithic and copper-plate inscriptions that their rule lasted over a century and a half. But the exact period of their rule has been a subject of a protracted controversy ever since their records were first discovered in the last century, and even the initial and terminal periods have been continuously debated with widely diverging opinions. Recent decades have thrown up important epigraphic evidence which renders a reappraisal of the problem imperative.

Scholars are now unanimous on the point that the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins succeeded the Śarabhapurīyas in the rule over South Kosala, and Hira Lal's theory to the contrary is no longer taken seriously.[1] The same is true of General Alexander

Cunningham's position that Tīvaradeva, one of the most powerful members of the family, flourished in the second quarter of the fifth century A.D.[2] and Stirling's theory placing Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna in the closing quarter of the fifth and the inaugural quarter of the sixth century A.D.[3] The suggestions of Cunningham and Stirling were based on certain statements contained in the Orissan temple chronicle which is no longer regarded as reliable for historical purposes.[4]

Some epigraphists of the earlier generation dated Tīvaradev's reign in the eighth century A.D. J.F. Fleet, while criticising the above view of Cunningham, held that 'Tīvaradeva cannot be allotted to an earlier date than roughly about A.D. 800.'[5] F. Kielhorn expressed himself in favour of placing a Sirpur stone inscription of the time of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna in about the eighth or ninth century A.D., on palaeographical, linguistic and stylistic grounds.[6] Elsewhere he opined that the Rajim plates of Tīvaradeva 'undoubtedly belong to about the middle of the 8th century A.D.[7] He also proposed to date the Nagpur (now Raipur) Museum inscription of Bhavadeva Raṇakesarin (actually of Nanna I, an early member of the family, about the middle of the same century.[8] Hira Lal felt that the characters of the Sirpur Lakshmaṇa Temple Inscription belonging to the reign of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna belong to the eighth or ninth century A.D.[9] This general period for the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins was taken for granted by D.R. Bhandarkar also who identified Chandragupta, defeated by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Govinda III according to his son Amoghavarsha's Sanjan plates,[10] with the homonymous Pāṇḍava chief who was the grandfather of Mahāśivagupta.[11] R.D. Banerji also held the same view about the date of Tīvaradeva.[12] It is noteworthy that when this chronology was suggested for the early Somavaṁśins, the period of the Vākāṭakas was also uncertain and, basing on Fleet's identification of Devagupta, father of Prabhāvatīguptā, chief queen of Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena II, with the homonymous Later Gupta monarch[13] mentioned in the Deo-Barnark inscription of his grandson Jīvitagupta II,[14] their rule was also placed in the eighth century A.D.[15] In fact, it was the employment of the box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet in the copper-plate charters of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa monarchs, as in the Vākāṭaka inscription, that prompted epigraphists to place the two dynasties about the same period. However, the discovery and publication of the Poona[16] and Rithpur[17] plates of Prabhāvatīgupta herself, which mention her father's name as Chandragupta (instead of Devagupta found in some other records) not only proved the untenability of Fleet's identification but also demonstrated the contemporaniety of the Vākāṭakas and the Imperial Guptas, thereby bringing the former a few centuries earlier than supposed thitherto. And once the Vākāṭakas were pushed back to an earlier date, there was naturally a re-thinking regarding the date of the early Somavaṁśins as well, and they, too, were sought to be placed earlier. And no historian is now prepared to date the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa rule so late as the eighth or ninth century A.D.

The first to propose an earlier date for the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins were D.C. Sircar and V.V. Mirashi. The former pointed out that as the Guptas, Vākāṭakas and Kadambas, who, too, employed box-headed characters in their inscriptions, are definitely known to have flourished prior to A.D. 700, the same may as well be true about Tīvaradeva.[18] Mirashi first discussed this problem threadbare by way of introductory remarks prefixed to his edition of the Thakurdiya plates of the last known Śarabhapurīya chief Pravararāja and offered some concrete suggestions.[19] He also based his observations on the palaeographical evidence and rightly pointed out the impossibility of referring Tīvaradeva to the eighth century A.D., just because his records employ box-headed characters. He also drew attention to a few other points which also, in his opinion, indicate that Tīvaradeva flourished in the sixth century A.D., *viz.*, a little over a couple of centuries earlier than the date assigned to him earlier. Firstly, he suggested the identification of king Sūrya-varman, father of Vāsaṭā who, according to the Sirpur Lakshmaṇa temple inscription of her son Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna, was married to Tīvaradeva's nephew Harshagupta, with the Maukhari prince of the same name mentioned in the Haraha inscription of the time of his Īśānavarman and dated in the (Vikrama) year 611 corresponding to A.D. 554[20] as no other chief bearing that name is known from any other source.[21] Once this identification is accepted, Harshagupta's father Chandragupta would become a contemporary of Sūryavarman, and his elder brother Tīvaradeva would have to be dated still earlier. Mirashi tried to seek support for this date for Tīvaradeva from a statement met with in some Vishṇukuṇḍin inscriptions. The Vishṇukuṇḍin monarch Mādhavavarman II Janāśraya is described in the Ipur plates granted in the thirty-seventh year of his reign as *Trivaranagara-bhavana-gatayuvati-hṛidaya-nandanaḥ*, *i.e.*, 'delighter of the hearts of the young ladies in the palace (or palaces) of Trivaranagara,'[22] This statement is found repeated in a somewhat differently worded compound occurring in the Polamuru plates issued in the fortieth or forty-eighth year[23] of his reign: *Trivaranagara-bhavana-gata-parama-yuvati-jana-viharaṇa-ratiḥ*, *i.e.*, 'fond of sporting with the excellent young women in the palace (or palaces) of Trivaranagara'.[24] The real import of these expressions has been a subject of keen controversy among epigraphists. E. Hultzsch took the compound met with in the Ipur plates to indicate that Mādhavavarman lived at Trivaranagara which he could not identify.[25] According to K.V. Lakshman Rao, who edited the Polamuru grant for the first time,[26] this expression was an 'euphemistic way of telling us that Mādhavavarman had married a wife from the city of Trivara.[27] According to Mirashi[28] and Sircar[29] on the other hand, these compounds actually allude to Mādhavarman's hostile relations with and victory over Trivaranagara rather than his marriage with a damsel of that town.[30] The expression *trivaranagara* has been generally taken as a *shashṭhī tatpurusha* compound in the sense of 'the city of Trivara', Trivara being the name of the monarch whose capital it was and who was vanquished by

Mādhavavarman, Both Mirashi[31] and Sircar[32] are in favour of identifying this Trivara with the Pāṇḍuvaṁśin monarch Mahāśiva Tīvaradeva who was a powerful ruler and a victory over whom must have been a source of pride for Mādhavavarman who thought it worth recording in his inscriptions. In so far as the date of Mādhavavarman who must be a contemporary of Tīvaradeva to have won a victory over him is concerned, both invite our attention to the Polamuru plates of Mādhavavarman Janāśraya himself and those of the Veṅgī Chālukya king Jayasiṁha I,[33] which were found together. The former register Mādhavavarman's grant of the village Pulomburu included in the Guḍḍavāḍi *vishaya* in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Śivaśarman, son and grandson respectively of Dāmaśarman and Rudraśarman and belonging to the Gautama *gotra* and the Taittirīya *śākhā*, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the fullmoon day of Phālguna when the monarch was crossing the Godāvarī with a view to conquer the eastern region in his fortieth (or forty-eighth) regnal year. The other charter, issued in the fifth year of the reign of Jayasiṁha I, records the donation of the same village to Rudraśarman, son and grandson respectively of Śivaśarman and Dāmaśarman and belonging to the same *gotra* and *śākhā*. It is interesting to note that the donee, Rudraśarman, is spoken of as *pūrv-āgrahārika*, *viz.*, 'former proprietor of the *agrahāra*'. Śivaśarman, the father of the beneficiary of Jayasiṁha I's grant, was evidently identical with the homonymous donee of Mādhavavarman's grant. Since Mādhavavarman's grant was made in his fortieth or forty-eighth regnal year, we may reasonably assume that his reign ended shortly thereafter. The recorded regnal periods of the Vishṇukuṇḍin chiefs following Mādhavavarman, *viz.*, Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman (27 years) and Vikramendravarman II (10 years),[34] and the Veṅgī Chālukya king Vishṇuvardhana I (18 years) and the first five years of his successor Jayasiṁha I[35] total sixly. Supposing that Mādhavavarman's son Vikramendravarman I did not survive his father who was blessed with an extraordinarily long reign and that the reigns of Vishṇukuṇḍin chiefs may have extended a little beyond the latest recorded years and taking the lunar eclipse into consideration, Mirashi arrived at A.D. 525-568 as the likely duration of Mādhavavarman's rule.[36] Sircar also approximately places Mādhavavarman's reign in *c.* A.D. 545-585.[37] Following this calculation, both Tīvaradeva and Mādhavavarman ruled about the same time and could have, therefore, crossed swords.

Mirashi offered varying suggestion at different places regarding the exact regnal period of Tīvaradeva. Primarily basing on the supposed contemporaniety of the Pāṇḍava chief Chandragupta with the Maukhari prince Sūryavarman, he first placed Tīvaradeva in *c.* A D. 530-550.[38] Slightly later he scaled down Tīvaradeva's accession by about three decades and dated it around A.D. 560 in order to reconcile palaeographic and other evidences.[39] In some other writings he proposed some other dates, *viz.*, 550-565[40] and A.D. 535-555.[41] Finally he made an attempt to push back the date by a few decades and was inclined to place Tīvaradeva in

c. A.D. 520-540.[42] Sircar favoured a slightly later date and held that Tīvaradeva 'flourished in the second half of the sixth century, probably about its last quarter.'[43] Elsewhere he proposed for him the period *c.* A.D. 555-580.[44] Basing on Mirashi and Sircar, most other modern historians are inclined to place Tīvaradeva about the middle of the sixth century A.D.[45]

But a reappraisal of the evidence available earlier and certain recent epigraphic discoveries make it difficult to accept such an early date for Tīvaradeva in particular and Pāṇḍuvaṁśins in general. It will be seen from the preceding resume that the two main bases of this early dating are the identification of Sūryavarman, maternal grandfather of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna, with Maukhari Īśānavarman's son of the same name known from the Haraha inscription of A.D. 554 and the equation of Trīvaranagara mentioned in the Vishṇukuṇḍin inscriptions with the capital of Tīvaradeva, Śrīpura (modern Sirpur, Raipur District). We propose to examine these points at some length.

To begin with, let us first examine the identification of the two Sūryavarmans. A stanza found in the Sirpur Lakshmaṇa temple inscription of the time of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna tells us that his mother Vāsaṭā was the daughter of king Sūryavarman who was born in the family of the Varmans who were great on account of their overlordship over Magadha.[46] As pointed out earlier, this Sūryavarman is popularly identified with the homonymous Maukhari prince known from the Haraha inscription. We have, however, no solid evidence to support this view except only the obvious identity of the two names. First of all, there is nothing to suggest that prince Sūryavarman brought to light by the Haraha inscription succeeded his father on the Maukhari throne at Kannauj. At the time he got the Śiva temple renovated as recorded in the Haraha inscription he was just a prince, and his father Īśānavarman was on the throne. He is not even mentioned as a crown prince in the inscription even though it was set up under his orders. He finds no place in the Maukhari genealogy met with on numerous seals of the family nor is he known to have been named in any literary work. We may, therefore, conclude that he did not ascend the throne in the direct line of succession. One may, however, argue that the inscriptions on the seals name only those in the direct line, not collaterals, and that Suryavarman may have been ignored as he was a collateral, his father Īśānavarman being known to have been succeeded on the Maukhari throne by his son Śarvavarman who was obviously Suryavarman's elder brother.[47] At the moment, however, we have absolutely no evidence to permit any definite conclusion on this issue. The reference to Suryavarman as 'king' cannot, therefore, be justified in the present state of our knowledge.[48] Secondly, as already observed by A. Ghosh,[49] the Maukharis of the line of Harivarman were never regarded as Characteristic Magadhan dynasty. Although we know of a feudatory Maukhari line ruling over a small territory in the Gaya District is Bihar,[50] there is

nothing to indicate that it was in any way related to Harivarman's line. Thirdly, before the reign of Śarvavarman, son and successor of Iśānavarman, the family of Harivarman had nothing to do with Magadha and its rule was apparently confined to Uttar Pradesh.[51] Iśānavarman no doubt claims to have carried his victorious arms as far as Orissa and Gauḍa,[52] and in course of these expeditions he must have obviously passed through Mgadha. However, these warfares appear to have been in the nature of fleeting raids which did not result into any eastward extension of Maukhari dominions. The family was primarily a ruling power of Uttar Pradesh, and even after the province of Magadha (or a part thereof) passed under the control of the later members of the dynasty,[53] it continued to have its headquarters at Kānyakubja. It is apparent, therefore, that the Maukharis could not be reasonably termed as a Magadhan power. B.P. Sinha's attempt to meet this objection by suggesting that 'the Sirpur inscription does not refer to Suryavarman's dynasty as *Magadhakula* or a Magadhan dynasty' and that it only avers that 'the Varman dynasty (*kula*) is famous for its supremacy over Magadha'[54] fails to carry conviction, as the epigraph in question purports to say nothirg more or less than that the Varmans were great owing to their mastery over Magadha. Then again, although *varman* formed the terminal component of the names of all the known Maukhari chiefs, on that account alone the dynasty to which they belonged could hardly have earned the rather curious name Varman. The Maukharis are known to have enjoyed a high reputation and played a significant part in contemporary Indian politics for almost one century (sixth-early seventh century A.D.). Any connection with, not to mention birth in, such an illustrious lineage could easily constitute a source of pride for anyone. If Suryavarman of the Sirpur inscription and his daughter Vāsaṭā were really born in such a hallowed family, the composer of the *praśasti* in question could ill afford to miss this opportunity to eulogise his patron and to refer to the lineage merely by the terminal of the names of its members. Although we have numerous references to the Maukharis in epigraphs and literature, they are nowhere spoken of merely as Varman, and it is difficult to believe that a princess hailing from that family, who may reasonably be expected to have been proud of her hallowed lineage, would allow her widely respected family to be mentioned in her own record[56] by a rather enigmatic designation like Varman just because *varman*-ending names were borne by its male members. History knows of several other dynasties like the Pallavas all the members of which had names ending with *varman*; but that was never employed as a dynastic name.[57] It cannot also be argued that the composer of the epigraph under reference was compelled to use the name-ending *varman* instead of the family name Maukhari because of metrical requirements; for actually there was no such problem as and, as suggested by Sankaranarayanan,[58] he could have very well worded the relevant quarter of the verse as *utpanno Magadh-ādhipatyamahatāṁ śrī Maukharāṇāṁ kule*[59] or in some similar other manner without in any way com-

promising with the family name. We can thus be sure that king Suryavarman mentioned in his daughter's record had absolutely nothing to do with the Maukhari dynasty beginning with Harivarman. And finally, we were to set aside all these considerations, there are insurmountable chronological difficulties which render this identification entirely untenable. It is known from the Haraha inscription that the Maukhari prince Īśānavarman lived in the third quarter of the sixth century A.D., whereas the extant evidences leave no doubt that the Pāṇḍuvaṁśin chief Chandragupta, who was obviously a contemporary of the Sūryavarman of the Varman dynasty, could not have flourished much earlier than about the close of the following century. We have shown elsewhere[60] that the rule of the Śarabhapurīyas, who preceded the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins in their rule over South Kosala, came to an end around the close of the sixth century A.D., and thereafter there followed a short interregnum marked by the rule of a few other chiefs before Pāṇḍuvaṁśins came to power. Among the Pāṇḍavas also Chandragupta, the supposed contemporary of Sūryavarman, was preceded by a number of ruling chiefs. We may, therefore, conclude that a period covering more than a century intervened between the Maukhari prince Sūryavarman and the homonymous father of queen Vāsaṭā, thereby rendering the identification of the two Sūryavarmans untenable.

We may now advert to the other prop of this theory, to wit, the identification of Trivaranagara referred to in the Ipur and Palamuru plates with Tīvaradeva's capital Śrīpura which is the mainstay of the supposed contemporaniety of Tīvaradeva and the Vishṇukuṇḍin monarch Mādhavavarman II Janāśraya. To begin with, we meet with divergent opinions as regards the import of the expression *trivaranagara*. K.V. Lakshman Rao took it as the name of a locality and proposed to identify it with the village of Tewar, representing the ancient city of Tripura or Tripuri, some 12 kms. west of Jabalpur in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh, which was Chedi capital and held that the Early Kalachuri king Śaṅkaragaṇa or most probably his father Kṛishṇarāja was Mādhavavarman's father-in-law.[61] Judging from the results of recent excavations, extant remains and epigraphic evidence, Tripurī or Tewar was a great politico-cultural centre for about two millennia from the late chalcolithic times to the end of the thirteenth century A.D.[62] The name in its Sanskrit from (Tripurī or Tripura) is met with in inscriptions and Sanskrit texts,[63] while the Prakrit form Tipuri is found on a few copper or bronze coins dating from about second-first century B.C.[64] In the eleventh century A.D. its name was popularly spelt as Tiori as we learn from Al-Biruni.[65] The modern form of the name, Tewar, is obviously an outcome of the process of Prakritisation of the old name Tripura (Tripura-Tiura-Tewar). It may even be argued that the word *vara* forming part of the expression *trivaranagara* is not in fact a part of the name of the city but just an adjective of the following word *nagara*, and the actual name of the town in that case would be Trinagara which, in essence, is the same as Tripura or Tripurī, and the expression under reference would connot 'three good

cities'. We may note in this connection that Tripurī came to be known by this name probably because originally it comprised three different settlements on the Narmadā and its affluents which came to be collectively designated meaningfully of course, as Tripura or Tripurī.[66] This equation of Tripurī and Trivaranagara is, however, quite untenable. Firstly, inscriptions and literature refer to this town invariably as Tripura or Tripurī and nowhere do we find the name Trinagara or Trivaranagara or its hypothetically abbreviated form Trivara.[67] Then again, the Early Kalachuri kings Kṛishṇarāja and Śaṅkaragaṇa as well as the latter's son Buddharāja had their metropolis at Māhishmatī, not Tripurī which attained this status under the Kalachuris of Ḍāhala in or about the eighth century A.D. Finally, the fairly extensive digging at Tripurī has given absolutely no trace of the Vishṇukuṇḍins There is also definite epigraphic evidence indicating that during the time of Mādhavavarman the Tripurī region was included in the kingdom of the Parivrājaka Mahārājas.[68]

S. Sankaranarayanan invites attention to the ancient Indian poetic convention of describing the womenfolks of the metropolitan towns as elated on seeing their beloved princes and monarchs going round the streets, especially on return after a long absence caused by a military expedition or some other reason, and this tradition, according to him, explalns Mādhavavarman's description in his Ipur and Polamuru plates.[69] He, therefore, thinks that the compounds in question contain no allusion whatsoever to any military campaign undertaken by Mādhavavarman. He agrees with E. Hultzsch in regarding Trivaranagara as the name of the place of the king's residence, which he is inclined to identify with the modern Tiruvuru (17° 10′ North and 30° 35′ East), the chief town of the homonymous taluk in the Krishna District of Andhra Pradesh.[70]

According to some other scholars, the expression *trivaranagara* need not be taken as the name of any particular locality and what we have here is only a general allusion to the capture of three good cities (*tri-vara-nagara*) by Mādhavavarman, and his supposed amorous dalliances with the damsels of the royal harems situated there.[71] Some scholars are inclined to hold that the epithet in question, which is merely ornamental, "means no more than that there were three flourishing cities in the Vishṇukuṇḍin kingdom where the king resided by turns'.[72]

However, the most popular opinion at the moment is in favour of regarding Trivara as the name of monarch humbled by Mādhavavarman and the compound *trivara-nagara* as referring to his headquarters. Further, this Trivara is now popularly identified, as stated above, with the Pāṇḍava chief Tīvaradeva, and his metropolis (*nagara*) with Śrīpura which, as pointed out elsewhere, rose to the status of the capital of South Kosala under the later members of the Śarabhapurīya dynasty and continued to enjoy this position under the early Somavaṁśins. But it is difficult to accept this view as it involves a number of unsubstantiable

assumptions. The Pāṇḍava capital of Dakshiṇa Kosala was Śrīpura and is so mentioned in several records of the dynasty. If it were ever known as Trivaranagara after one of its most illustrious rulers, *viz.*, Tīvaradeva, as conjectured by the protogonists of this hypothesis, it would have been mentioned by this name at least in a few records of his successors and it would not have been left to his supposed vanquisher, Mādhavavarman, alone to employ this name. Then again, howsoever powerful and famous a ruler might have been, his capital was not generally known after him unless, of course, it was established or re-settled and specifically so christened by him or his descendants.[73] To cite only a single instance, although Pāṭaliputra happened to be the capital of much more illustrious emperors like Chandragupta Maurya, Aśoka, Samudragupta, Chandragupta II Vikramāditya and Skandagupta, there is no evidence of its being designated after them. Moreover, had the Pāṇḍuvaṁśin headquarters been really ravaged by Mādhavavarman, the latter would not have alluded to it in such an obscure and round about manner as not to be recongnised easily. To sum up, the expression *travaranagara* cannot be taken to denote the 'city of Trivara or Tīvaradeva' and is totally irrelevant to the problem of the date of Tīvaradeva.

However, even if all these facts were to be ignored, chronological difficulties render this identification impossible. Until a few years ago we had no Vishṇukuṇḍin record dated with reference to a known reckoning, and all the then known inscriptions were dated only in the regnal years of individual rulers, with the result that the reigns of different members of the dynasty had to be dated purely tentatively on the twin considerations of the regnal years mentioned in their epigraphs and the information afforded by the aforesaid Polamuru plates of Mādhavavarman and Jayasiṁha I. But the recently discovered Tummalagudem (Ramanapeta taluk, Nalgonda District, Andhra Pradesh) grant of Vikramendravarman II, the last known member of the dynasty, dated in the expired Śaka year 488 corresponding to A.D. 566-67,[74] has placed the Vishṇukuṇḍin chronology on a firmer basis, thereby eliminating the necessity of reconstructing it conjecturally on rather uncertain grounds as was the case so far. Śaka 488 is said to have been coeval with the eleventh year of the reign of Vikramendravarman II; his accession may, therefore, be dated sometime in A.D. 555-56 His father Indravarman (or Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman), who preceded him on the throne, is known to have ruled for at least twenty-seven years as shown by the Ramatirtham grant issued in the twenty-seventh year of his reign.[75] Even if we were to believe that he did not rule beyond his latest recorded year, his accession cannot be placed after A.D. 528-29. It is held by some scholars that his father Vikramendravarman I did not rule, for he predeceased his father who was blessed with a rather unusually long reign of full four decades or more.[76] This view, however, does not appear to be correct because he is styled *rājan*[77] and *mahārāja*[78] in the records of his son and grandson respectively; the employment of these regal

titles for him leaves no room for doubt regarding his accession although no record belonging to his reign has so far been found.[79] Supposing that he ruled for a short period of just ten years, he could not have come to power later than A.D. 518-19. He was preceded by his father Mādhavavarman II Janāśraya who had a long reign covering at least forty or forty-eight years according to the various readings of the date portion of his Polamuru grant. Consequently his accession cannot be dated later than A.D. 478-79 or A.D. 470-71.[80] It will follow from the foregoing discussion, and it is most important in the present context, that his reign could not have terminated than A.D. 518-19.[81] We find the earliest reference to the amours with the damsels of Trivaranagara in his Ipur plates dated in his thirty-seventh regnal year. If the fortieth year marked the conclusion of his reign, this episode must be dated in or prior to A.D.515-16. In case, however, the Polamuru plates were issued in his forty-eighth regnal year as held by several scholars, one will have to date this event eight years earlier, *i.e*,, in or before A.D. 507-508. And if we were to allow some margin for the extension of the reigns of Mādhavavarman and Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman beyond their latest known dates, this episode will have to be dated still earlier. And in case the expression *trivaranagara* has to be taken as alluding to the Pāṇḍava king Tīvaradeva, it will have to be shown that he assumed power prior to this date. However, as detailed above, the earliest date so far proposed for his accession is A.D. 520, which is about five years later than the latest possible date for the event under reference.[82] It must be remembered in this connection that even such an early date for Tīvaradeva's accession has been proposed solely with the object of retaining the interpretation of *trivaranagara* as his capital by eastablishing his contemporaniety with Mādhavavarman. And when all this could not prove the contemporaniety of Tīvaradeva and Mādhavavarman, an attempt was made to date the latter's accession in A.D. 528 by dropping the reign of his son Vikramendravarman I, which, being in flagrant violation of the evidence furnished by the records of his descendants, is entirely untenable.

To sum up, the two main grounds for placing Tīvaradeva in the sixth century A.D. and consequenty the dynasty to which he belonged in the sixth-early seventh centuries A.D., *viz.*, the contemporaniety of Pāṇḍava Chandragupta with Maukhari Sūryavarman and of Tīvaradeva with Vishṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman Janāśraya, are no longer extant, and the chronology of the Pāṇḍavas of South Kosala has to be ascertained independently of the Maukhari and Vishṇukuṇḍin inscriptions.

We may now proceed to discuss the evidence relevant to the problem and try to determine the chronology of the Pāṇḍava rule. As we have stated above, the termination of the Śarabhapurīya rule cannot be dated much earlier than the end of the sixty century A.D. Even if we were to argue with Mirashi[83] that the last known member of the family, Pravararāja, was supplanted by the Pāṇḍavas and that the Pāṇḍuvaṁśin chief responsible for overthrowing him was Tīvaradeva, the beginning of the latter's rule cannot be placed prior to the closing years of the

sixth century A.D. It appears however, that Tīvaradeva was not the immediate successor, politically speaking, of Pravararāja and that quite a few decades intervened between them.

We have sufficient evidence to show that members of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa ruled over the Chhatisgarh region for quite some time before Tīvaradeva Mention must in this connection be made of the Dhamatari[84] and Kauvatal[85] plates of the Śarabhapurīya king Sudevarāja, elder brother of Pravararāja, referring to a certain Indrabalarāja who held the office of *Sarvādhikārādhikṛita* or Chief Minister. The identity of this Indrabalarāja cannot be ascertained at present for want of adequate information. But he is generally identified with Indrabala, one of the sons of the first known Pāṇḍava monarch Udayana and Tīvaradeva's grandfather.[86] If this equation were to be conceded, we would have to believe that Tīvaradeva's grandfather, Indrabala, occupied a subordinate position under Sudevarāja practically up to the close of the latter's reign. But we have enough evidence to indicate that he also ruled as a sovereign ruler for some time. A fragmentary inscription set up by Īśānadeva in the Lakshmaṇeśvara temple at Kharod, a couple of miles north of Sheorinarayan in the Bilaspur District, speaks of his father Indrabala as one whose lotus-feet were decked with the crest-jewels of all the rulers and who had vanquished his enemies.[87] The epigraph also mentions a town founded by him and called Indrapura after himself, which became the headquarters of a *vishaya* or district. Īśānadeva himself built the temple of Lakshmaṇeśvara (now called Lakhneśvara) at Kharod and gave away a few villages for its unkeep. Indrabala, thus, commenced his career as a subordinate chief under Sudevarāja and later rose to the position of a sovereign ruler, evidently after Pravararāja, and was followed by his son Īśānadeva. Another son of Indrabala, Nannarāja, also ruled in South Kosala as indicated by his Arang (Raipur District) stone inscription.[88] This record further shows that yet another grandson of Udayana, Bhavadeva *alias* Raṇakesarin, also rose to regal power. If these reigns covered a period of about forty years which is not much, Nannarāja, the last of these rulers may be taken to have closed his reign in *circa* A.D. 630.[89]

Mention may be made of a few other facts which may necessitate dating Tīvaradeva's accession even later. The Mallar plates of Vyāghrarāja inform us that his elder brother Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka and his father Jayabhaṭṭāraka of the Amarāryākula[90] ruled in South Kosala for some time, and, as we have shown elsewhere,[91] their rule followed that of the Śarabhapurīyas. Depending on the different readings of the date portion, Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka ruled for a period of at least four or forty-one years, while nothing is known about the extent of Jayabhaṭṭāraka's reign. We must make provision for their rule prior to that of the line of Udayana. Likewise, some time must be provided for the rule of the Rājarshi-tulya-kula chief Bhīmasena II, who issued his Arang plate in the Gupta

year AD 281 or 601,[92] and for that of Śūrabhala *alias* Udīrṇavaira, the last known member of the Pāṇḍava dynasty of Mekalā, whose control of the region round Mallar (Bilaspur District) is vouched for by his copper-plate charter found at that place.[93] In case the rule of these potentates intervend between the Śarabhapurīyas and the Pānduvaṁśins, about which there is no doubt, and if just three decades are provided for them, Tīvaradeva's accession must be placed in the latter half of the seventh century AD, say around AD. 660.[94]

The fact that the Śarabhapurīyas and the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins were separated from each other by these chiefs belonging to different dynasties should set at rest the popularly accepted identification of Indrabalarāja known from a couple of Śarabhapurīya inscriptions with the Pāṇḍava king Indrabala, the identity of names and chronological nearness, which form the sole basis of this theory, being purely accidental. It may also be pointed out in connection with this chronological framework that one cannot be quite certain regarding the duration and order of the rule of the Amarārya-kula, Rājarshi-tulya-kula and Mekalā Pāṇḍava chiefs in South Kosala. They have been assigned here, purely tentatively of course, a short period of just thirty years assuming that only the last known members of these families held sway over the entire or a major part of South Kosala and that also just for parts of their reigns which alone it definitely warranted by the extant inscriptional evidence, and that the earlier member ruled in some small part of Kosala or in an adjacent region.

The chronology proposed in these pages is strengthened by some other evidences as well. According to a verse found in a few inscriptions of Dharmarāja II *alias* Mānabīta of the Śailodbhava dynasty of Orissa, his younger brother Mādhava made an attempt to drive him out of his kingdom but was vanquished in a battle at a place called Phāsikā. However, undaunted by this discomfiture, he joined king Tīvara, and both of them were defeated at the foot of the Vindhyas.[95] The date of Dharmarāja himself is not recorded definitely in any record, but as his grandfather Mādhavarāja II *alias* Sainyabhīta was on throne in the Gupta year A.D. 300 or 619-20,[96] his reign may be dated in the latter half of the seventh century A.D. He was thus a contemporary of Tīvaradeva who alone is identifiable with king Trīvara of the Śailodbhava records.[97] The statement of the Aḍhabhāra plates of Nannarāja II that the territory under the rule of his father Tīvaradeva included, *inter alia*, Utkala[98] strengthens this identification.[99] The surmise of the champions of the earlier period for the Somavaṁśins that king Trīvara of the Śailodbhava inscriptions was a later member of the Pāṇḍava dynasty named after his homonymous ancestor[100] has nothing to commend itself.

Our chronology finds suspport from palaeographical evidence as well. Scholars are generally agreed on the point that the Arang inscription of the reign of Nannarāja I is, palaeographically speaking, posterior to the Arang grant of

Bhīmasena II. dated in the Gupta year AD 282 or 601, by about five decades.[101] This position was acceptable to Mirashi also, albeit with the object of his date for Tīvaradeva he proposed to read the date of the Arang plate as Gupta year 182,[102] which is purely gratuitious.[103] We may, therefore, conclude that Tīvaradeva's father Nannarāja I was on the throne about the middle of the seventh century.

Summing up, a date for Tīvaradeva early in the second half of the seventh century AD, goes well with all the extant historical facts, and there is nothing to contradict this view. On the contrary, the available historical evidence cannot be satisfactorily accounted for if Tīvaradeva were to be assigned a sixth century A.D. date.

Taking *circa* A.D. 660 as the date of Tīvaradeva's accession, an attempt may now be made to outline the chronology of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins of the line of Udayana. We have seen above that a period of about thirty years has to be provided for the rule of Bhīmasena II, Pravara-bhaṭṭāraka and Śūrabala *alias* Udīrṇavaira of the Rājarshi-tulya-kula, Amarārya-kula and the Mekalā Pāṇḍava dynasties respectively after the termination of the Sarabhapurīya rule in *circa* A.D. 590 and prior to the commencement of the rule of Udayana's family which may in consequence be placed around A.D. 620. The reign of Udgyana's son Indrabala, who is the first member of the family known to have ruled in South Kosala, may be dated in *circa* A.D. 620-40. We have no evidence to determine as to whether Indrabala's sons Iśānadeva and Nannarāja ruled simultaneously or one after the other; they may, however, be conveniently placed in about A.D. 640-60[104] Tīvaradeva, who succeeded Nannarāja, granted his Baloda charter in his ninth regnal year. For want of necessary evidence it is not possible to ascertain how long thereafter he continued to rule. But if he is given about twenty years, his reign may be taken to have come to an end around A.D. 680. He was followed by his son Nanna II whose only known record (Aḍhabhāra plates) is left undated. However, if we grant him also twenty years, he may be taken to have closed his reign around A.D. 700. We have no records of the next two monarchs, *viz.* Chandragupta and Harshagupta. But if they also ruled for about twenty years each, we may date their reigns in *circa* 700-720 and A.D. 720-40 respectively. Two of the grants of Harshagupta's son and successor Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna were issued in the fifty-seventh year of his reign.[105] He may, therefore, be taken to have ruled for about six decades till about the end of the eighth century A.D.

It must be pointed out that this chronology is purely provisional and may have to be modified in the light of future discoveries, particularly dated records. But such a modification, if and when it becomes necessary, is unlikely to affect the general chronological framework to any considerable extent, the alterations being limited to points of detail such as the extent of individual reigns and the dates of

their beginning and end. No major alteration is likely as regards the general period of the beginning of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa rule in Kosala, but as regards its close, substantial alteration cannot be ruled out. And if such a change becomes necessary, the termination of the Bāṇḍava rule may have to be placed a few decades later, immediately before the commencement of the later Somavaṁśins in orissa.

We may now advert to a few objections recently raised against the above chronology.[106] Our attention has been invited to Yuan Chwang's description of South Kosala, and we are asked to explain as to how his account is relevant if our chronology is accepted. Let us first see what the Chinese traveller has to say about the Kosala king. He informs us that 'the king was a Kshatriya by birth, a Buddhist in religion, and of noted benevolence'. It is added that there were, evidently at the capital, 'about 100 Buddhist monasteries, and about 10,000 Brethern, all Mahāyānists.,[107] The remaining description is not relevant to the present discussion. Mirashi thinks that this description applies well to time of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna during whose reign some Buddhist structures were erected and who is known to have lavished his patronage on the Buddhists.[108] But a close look at at this account would show that it is at least partially erroneous besides being so general in its contents as to be of no use for historical purposes. The statement that the king was a Buddhist is obviously incorrect as no ruler of South Kosala from the time of the Śarabhapurīyas, the earliest known ruling family of the region, to the end of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa was a Buddhist, and that all these chiefs were adherents of Paurāṇic Hinduism is vouched for by their own records. Not even Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna was a votary of Buddhism. However, in conformity with the age-old Indian tradition all these rulers followed a liberal religious policy, and so did Mahāśivagupta. Such a liberal religious outlook could easily be mistaken as a formal affiliation to one religion or the other, in this case Buddhism, as Yuan Chwang has done in many a case. It is, therefore, obvious that Yuan Chwang's description of South Kosala and its king is totally irrelevant to the question of Pāṇḍava chronology. In our opinion the Chinese pilgrim's contemporary Kosalan king could well have been Tīvaradeva's father Nannarāja I who, too, is known from the Arang inscription of his reign to have patronised Buddhism.

As we have seen above, according to our chronology, Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna flourished in the eighth century. Mirashi is, however, doubtful if Buddhism was flourishing in the Chhattisgarh region as late as the eighth century. We have definite archaeological evidence to show that Buddhism was in vogue in South Kosala not just till the close of the eighth century, but for a few centuries therefter also. We learn from the Ratanpur inscription of the time of Kalachuri Jājalladeva I, dated Kalachuri 866 (= A.D. 1114) that the king's spiritual teacher Rudraśiva was conversent with the writings of Diṅnāga and others *Diṅnāg-ādi-pramāṇa-vit*).[109] According to the Koni inscription of the time of

Pṛithvīdeva II, dated Kalachuri 900 (= A.D. 1148-49), its composer, Kasela, had mastered the three jewels and the *āgamas* of Śrīghana (Buddha) and others *jñātā ratnatrayasya prathitatara-matiḥ Śraighan-āgam-aughe*).[110] The inscriptional evidence, though meagre, leaves no doubt that Buddhism was prevalent in South Kosala as late as the twelfth century. This conclusion finds strong support from the finds in the archaeological exavations at Mallar, one of the most important towns[111] of South Kosala. The finds of period IV dated to A.D. 600-900 included, *inter alia*, baked clay sealings of the Buddhist creed.[112] Several Buddhist images like those of Buddha, Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara, Hevajra and Tārā, datable up to the tenth century A.D. have also been reported.[113] The evidence is quite eloquent and should leave no doubt about the continuing popularity of Buddhism in this region during the early mediaeval period.

It will appear from the foregoing discussion that the chronology of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins proposed in these pages accords well with all the known facts.

Notes and References

1. For a criticism of Hira Lal's theory, see *Prāchya Pratibhā*, v (i), pp. 20-21. Also *vide* supra, ch. XI.
2. *Archaeological Survey Reports*, xvii, pp. 17-18 and 28.
3. *Asiatic Researches*, xv, pp. 256 ff.
4. For an examination of the historical value of these texts, popularly known as *Mādalā Pañji*, see J.F. Fleet in *EI*, iii, pp. 325 ff. Also see D.C. Sircar, *Studies in the Yuga Purāṇa and Other Texts*, pp. 149-158.
5. J.F. Fleet, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors*, *CII*, iii, p. 294.
6. *IA*, xviii, p. 179. Kielhorn held that the characters of his inscription closely resembled those of the Ghosarwa epigraph of Devapāla's time.
7. *EI*, iv, p. 258. At another place he observed that this record cannot be older than AD 700. See *IA*, xviii, p. 179.
8. *JRAS*, 1905, p. 618. He held that the characters of this record resembled in a general way those of Śivagupta's Kanasva inscription dated in the Mālava year 795. Elsewhere he observes that the characters of the former are slightly older than those of the latter and that the former may, therefore, be dated confidently about the beginning of the eighth century AD (*EI*, iv, pp. 257-58.
9. *EI*, xi, pp. 114 and 185; *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, p. 100.
10. *EI*, xviii, p. 245, verse 22.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 240. Bhandarkar further observed that the Pāṇḍava "was one of the paramount dynasties of the eighth and ninth centuries A.D."
12. *History of Orissa*, i, pp. 13 4, 204 and 225. He also accepted the identification of Chandragupta, Govinda III's adversary, with the homonymous brother of Tīvaradeva.
13. Fleet, *CII*, iii, p. 215.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 215, text-line 4.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 215.
16. *EI*, xv, p. 41; *CII*, v, p. 7, text-line 7.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 36, text-line 7.

18. D.C. Sircar, *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan*, pp. 129-30.
19. *EI*, xxii, pp. 18-22. For his subsequent digressions on this problem, see *ibid.*, xxvi, pp. 227-230; *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 237-47; *JESI*, iv, pp. 1-5; vi, pp. 1-4; *Indological Research Papers*, i, pp. 179-90.
20. *EI*, xiv, pp. 115 ff. This incription aims at recording the renovation of Śiva temple by Sūryavarman, son of Iśānavarman, while he was on an hunting expedition.
21. *Ibid.*, xxii, p. 19; xxiii, pp. 115-16 (where the genesis of the supposed Mukhari-Pāṇḍava alliance is outlined.
22. Ibid., xvii, p. 336, text lines 4-5. At p. 337, this expression was rendered by Hultzsch as 'who delights the hearts of the young woman standing on (the top of the places of Trivaranagara'.
23. The date has been read differently by different scholars.
24. *Journal of the Department of Letters*, University of Calcuetta, xi, p. 59, text-lines 8-9; *JAHRS*, vi, p. 20. In D.C. Sircar's *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan*, p. 335, the word *parama* is dropped, evidently by oversight.
25. *EI*, xvii, p. 335. Hultzsch observed that 'Trivaranagara can hardly be identified with the distant Tripurī.'
26. *Journal of the Department of Letters*, University of Calcutta, xi, p. 39.
27. *Ibid.*, xi, p. 39.
28. *EI*, xxii, pp. 19-20; *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 240-41.
29. *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan*, p. 129; fn. 1; *A History and Culture of the Indian People*, iii, *The Classical Age*, (ed. R.C. Majumdar), p. 208.
30. It is noteworthy that the compounds in question refer not to one but to a number of women (*yuvati-jana*) whose hearts he pleased or with whom he sported. Moreover, the motif that a victorious king captivates the hearts of the ladies of the conquered city is sometimes noticed in ancient Indian literature. In this context Mirashi invites our attention to Rājaśekhara's *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* (iv. 8) and Vākpati's *Gauḍavaho* (verse 1000). See *Studies in Indology*, i, p. 241, fn. 2.
31. *EI*, xxii, pp. 19-20; *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 240-41; *JESI*, iv, pp. 2-3; vi, p. 2; *Indological Research Papers*, i, p. 181.
32. *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan*, pp. 128-130; *A New History of the Indian People*, vi: *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age* (ed. R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar), p. 89; *A History and Culture of the Indian People*, iii: *The Classical Age* (ed. R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalkar), p. 208.
33. *EI*, xiv, pp. 254-58.
34. At the time the Chikkulla plates of the tenth year were his latest record (*ibid.*, iv, pp. 193-98). But of late copper-plate characters of his eleventh (*JIH*, xliii, pp. 733-48) and fourteenth (*Ei*, xxxvi, pp. 7-12) regnal years have been discovered.
35. The Polamuru plates of Jayasiṁha I were given in the fifth year of the reign.
36. *EI*, xxii, pp. 20-21; *Study in Indology*, i, pp. 241-44.
37. *The Successors of the Sātvāhanas in Lower Deccan*, pp. 128-130; *A New History of the Indian People*, vi: *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age* (ed. R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar), p. 89; *A History and Culture of the Indian People*, iii: *The Classical Age* (ed. R.C. Majumdar), p. 208.
38. *EI*, xxii, p. 19.
39. *Ibid.*, xxvi, p. 229. Mirashi proposed a fifteen-year reign for Tīvaradeva and dated the termination of his rule in *c.* AD575. *Vide* '*Studies in Indology*' i (first edition), p. 234, fn. 2. In the second edition (p. 251, fn. 2) this date is dropped.
40. *Ganganatha Jha Commemoration Volume*, pp. 223 ff.; *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 239-40 and 244.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 247. This date is mentioned towards the end of the paper on the "Date of Tīvaradeva"

18. D.C. Sircar, *The Successors of the Sātāvāhanas in the Lower Deccan*, pp. 129-30.
19. *EI*, xxii, pp. 18-22. For his subsequent digressions on this problem, see *ibid.*, xxvi, pp. 227-230; *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 237-47; *JESI*, iv, pp. 1-5; vi, pp. 1-4; *Indological Research Papers*, i, pp. 179-90.
20. *EI*, xiv, pp. 115 ff. This incription aims at recording the renovation of Śiva temple by Sūryavarman, son of Īśānavarman, while he was on an hunting expedition.
21. *Ibid.*, xxii, p. 19; xxiii, pp. 115-16 (where the genesis of the supposed Mukhari-Pāṇḍava alliance is outlined.
22. Ibid., xvii, p. 336, text lines 4-5. At p. 337, this expression was rendered by Hultzsch as 'who delights the hearts of the young woman standing on (the top of the places of Trivaranagara'.
23. The date has been read differently by different scholars.
24. *Journal of the Department of Letters*, University of Calcuetta, xi, p. 59, text-lines 8-9; *JAHRS*, vi, p. 20. In D.C. Sircar's *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan*, p. 335, the word *parama* is dropped, evidently by oversight.
25. *EI*, xvii, p. 335. Hultzsch observed that 'Trivaranagara can hardly be identified with the distant Tripurī.'
26. *Journal of the Department of Letters*, University of Calcutta, xi, p. 39.
27. *Ibid.*, xi, p. 39.
28. *EI*, xxii, pp. 19-20; *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 240-41.
29. *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan*, p. 129; fn. 1; *A History and Culture of the Indian People*, iii, *The Classical Age*, (ed. R.C. Majumdar), p. 208.
30. It is noteworthy that the compounds in question refer not to one but to a number of women (*yuvati-jana*) whose hearts he pleased or with whom he sported. Moreover, the motif that a victorious king captivates the hearts of the ladies of the conquered city is sometimes noticed in ancient Indian literature. In this context Mirashi invites our attention to Rājaśekhara's *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* (iv. 8) and Vākpati's *Gauḍavaho* (verse 1000). See *Studies in Indology*, i, p. 241, fn. 2.
31. *EI*, xxii, pp. 19-20; *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 240-41; *JESI*, iv, pp. 2-3; vi, p. 2; *Indological Research Papers*, i, p. 181.
32. *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan*, pp. 128-130; *A New History of the Indian People*, vi: *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age* (ed. R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar), p. 89; *A History and Culture of the Indian People*, iii: *The Classical Age* (ed. R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalkar), p. 208.
33. *EI*, xiv, pp. 254-58.
34. At the time the Chikkulla plates of the tenth year were his latest record (*ibid.*, iv, pp. 193-98). But of late copper-plate characters of his eleventh (*JIH*, xliii, pp. 733-48) and fourteenth (*EI*, xxxvi, pp. 7-12) regnal years have been discovered.
35. The Polamuru plates of Jayasiṁha I were given in the fifth year of the reign.
36. *EI*, xxii, pp. 20-21; *Study in Indology*, i, pp. 241-44.
37. *The Successors of the Sātvāhanas in Lower Deccan*, pp. 128-130; *A New History of the Indian People*, vi: *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age* (ed. R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar), p. 89; *A History and Culture of the Indian People*, iii: *The Classical Age* (ed. R.C. Majumdar), p. 208.
38. *EI*, xxii, p. 19.
39. *Ibid.*, xxvi, p. 229. Mirashi proposed a fifteen-year reign for Tīvaradeva and dated the termination of his rule in *c.* AD575. *Vide* '*Studies in Indology*' i (first edition), p. 234, fn. 2. In the second edition (p. 251, fn. 2) this date is dropped.
40. *Ganganatha Jha Commemoration Volume*, pp. 223 ff.; *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 239-40 and 244.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 247. This date is mentioned towards the end of the paper on the "Date of Tīvaradeva"

and is said to have been suggested earlier in the article. However, the date sought to be supported throughout the remainder of the paper is AD 550-565, aod not AD 535-555.

42. *JESI*, lv, pp. 3-4; *Indological Research Papers*, i, p. 183.
43. *A History and Culture of the Indian People*, iii: *The Classical Age* (ed. R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalkar), p. 220.
44. *A New History of the Indian People*, vi: *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age* (ed. R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar), p. 90. It is further added that he 'appears to have flourished about the middle of the sixth century.'
45. B.P. Sinha, *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. 443; *Readings in History and Culture*, pp. 183-85. The strangest position is of Sudhakara Chattopadhyaya who. on one the hand, sticks o the untenable dating of Tivaradeva's Rajim and Baloda plates in about AD 800 (*Early History of Northern India*, pp. 185 and 217) while at the same time insisting on the identification of Sūryavarman, Vāsaṭā's father, with the homonymons son of Mukhari Īśānavarman (*idid.*, p. 268).
46. *Nishpaṅke Magadh-ādhipatya-mahatāṁ jātaḥ kule Varmanāṁ Puṇyābhiḥ kṛitibhiḥ kṛiti kṛita-manaḥ-kampaḥ sudhā-bhojinām/Yaṁ āsādya sutāṁ Himāchala iva śrī-Sūryavarmā nṛipaḥ Prāpa prak-parameśvara-śvasurata-garv-aniknarvaṁ padam. EI*, xi, p. 191, verse 16.
47. This argument has been advanced by Mirashi (*EI*, xxii, p. 19), B.P. Sinha (*Readings in History and Culture*, p. 181) and others. At another place (*EI*, xxiii, p. 115) Mirashi observed that for want of necessary evidence it is not possible to ascertain if Sūryavarman, being a younger son of Īśānavarman, ever come to the throne.
48. B.P. Sinha's suggestion that after the conquest of Magadha Śarvavarman installed his brother Sūryavarman as governor of the newly annexed province (*Readings in History and Culture*, p. 181) does not admit of verification in the absence of relevant evidence, and consequently the attempted justification of the employment of the title 'king' for the Mukhari prince Sūryavarman is unwarranted.
49. *EI*, xxiv, p. 283; xxv, p. 268.
50. Fleet, *CII*, iii, nos, 48-50 (for inscriptions); R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalkar (ed.), *A History and Culture of the Indian People*, iii, *The Classical Age*, p. 67 (for historical account).
51. Taking the identification of the Sūryavarman for granted, Sudhakara Chattopadhyaya goes to the other extreme when he regards the statement of the Lakshmaṇa temple inscription of Vāsaṭā that her father was born in the family of the Varmans who ruled over Magadha as an evidence of passing of Magadha under Mukhari control during Īśānavarman's time (*Early History of Northern India*. pp. 268-69).
52. *EI*, xiv, p. 117, verse 13.
53. A seal belonging to a later member of the family, *viz.*, *Mahārājādhirāja* Su. . . ., son of Advantivarman has been reported from Nalanda, *Vide EI*, xxiv, pp. 284 ff. See also the Deo-Baranark inscription of the Later Gupta king Jīvitagupta II (Fleet, *CII*, iii, no. 46) purporting to confirm a land grant originally made by Bālāditya, *Parameśvara* Śarvavarman and *Parameśvara* Avantivarman, the last two of whom were apparently identical with the homonymous Mukhari monarchs.
54. B.P. Sinha, *Readings in History and Culture*, p. 180.
55. One might argue that as Magadha happened to be an important seat of political authority for several centuries, control over it could well have been a matter of pride. This conjecture is, however, absurd as the inscriptions of the Maukharis themselves don't make such a claim. No other dynasty with supremacy over Magaaha is known to have prided in this fact. Moreover, during the period in question Magadha had ceased to be a centre of political power which had shifted to Kannauj.
56. The Lakshmaṇa temple inscridtion at Sirpur containing the relevant stanza was set up by the queen mother herself.

57. All the Vākāṭaka rulers had *sena*-ending names, but on that account they are nowhere referred to as Senas in their own as well as other contemporary records. The same is true of other dynasties.
58. S. Sankranarayanan, *The Viṣṇukuṇḍis and their Times*, p. 228.
59. The Maukharis are referred to as Mukhara and Mukharas in the Haraha inscription (verse 3) and Bāṇa's *Harsha-charita* respectively.
60. *Prāchya Pratibhā*, v (i), pp. 22-25; *JESI*, v. pp. 21-23; vi, pp. 5-10; *Indian Epigraphy: Its bearing on the History of Art* (ed. Frederick M. Asher and G.S. Gai), New Delhi, 1985, pp. 107-107. Also see *supra*, CL. XI.
61. *Journal of the Department of Letters*, University of Calcutta, xi, pp. 39-40.
62. See Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Tripurī* (Hindi) pp. 82-89 and 165-66 for results of excavations and epigraphical references to Tripurī.
63. *Ibid.*, pp. 157-68.
64. John Allan, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum : Coins of Ancient India*, pp. cxl-cxli and 239, pl. XXXV.14-15.
65. E. Sachau, *Al-Beruni's India*, i, p. 202, K.V. Lakshman Rao (*Journal of the Department of Letters*, xi, p. 63) believed that Trivara is a partially Prakritised form of Tripurī which in course of time was transformed into Tiwar or Tewar, the letter being the name presently borne by the site of Tripurī. A. Ghosh discerns 'much probability' in this suggestion (*EI*, xxv, p. 269).
66. *Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihas Parishad*, v, p. 59. Cf. the name Daśapura (modern Mandasor, Madhya Pradesh) which must be explained likewise.
67. Keeping with the practice of christening the capital after the country or dynasty, Tripurī is also sometimes mentioned as Chedi-nagarī or Chedi-kula-rājadhānī which are actually descriptive expressions rather than names. See my *Tripurī*; p. 3; *Abhidhana-chintamaṇi*, iv. 41; *CII*, iv, p. lxxxiii, fn. 4.
68. *EI*, viii, pp. 284-88. Also see my *Tripurī*, pp. 32-33.
69. Such descriptions are met with in the *Mahabharata*, Śāntiparvan, ch, 39; *Kadambarī*, p. 185; *Katha-sarit-sagara*, iii. vi. 223; *Bṛihat-katha-mañjarī*, iii. 311-14, etc. See S. Sankaranarayanan, *Viṣṇukuṇḍis and their Times*, p. 230, fn. 45.
70. *Ibid.*, Appendix IV. See also *ibid.*, p. 46.
71. Ajay Mitra Shastri, "A Note on the Ipur and Polamuru Plates of Madhavavarman" *Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma Commemoration Volume*, *JAHRS*, xxxv, p. 168.
72. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri in *A History and Culture of the Indian People*, iii. *The Classical Age* (ed. R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusaltar), p. 225.
73. Hushkapura (after Huvishka), Jushkapura (after Vājeshka), Pravarapura (after Pravarāsena), Śārabhapura (after Śarabha), Prasannapura (after Prasannamātra), Kārnavatī (after Karna or Lakshmīkarna) etc., may be cited as examples of towns named after the founders.
74. *JIH*, xliii, pp. 733 ff.; *Epigraphia Andhrica*, ii, pp. 15-20; S. Sankāranarayanan, *The Viṣṇukuṇḍis and their Times*; pp. 172.75. For the record of Govindavarman, an earlier member of the same family, from the same place, see *ibid.*, pp. 152-56; *Epigraphia Andhrica*, ii, pp. 4-14. Also *vide* V.V. Mirashi, *Literary and Historical Studies in Indology*, pp. 131 ff.; *Indological Research Papers*, i. pp. 121 ff.
75. *EI*, xii, p. 133, text-line 15.
76. We have seen earlier that the date of the Polamuru plates has been dcciphered variously as 40 or 48. While K.V. Lakshman Rao, R. Subba Rao and S. Sankaranarayanan (*The Viṣṇukuṇḍis and their Times*, p. 180, text-line 41) read it as 48, D.C. Sircar is inclined in favour of the reading 40.
77. Ramatirtham plates of his son Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman, text-line 4. See *ibid.*, p. 66.

78. See *Epigraphia Andhrica*, ii, p. 15, text-line 10 (Tummalagudem plates of Vikramendravarman II).
79. It is held by Mirashi (*EI*, xxii, p 20; *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 212-12) that Vikramendravarman I did not rule and that the regal titles were probably employed for him as a matter of courtesy (*JESI*, iv, p. 5 fn. 24). This argdement is, however, prompted by the anxiety to prove the contemporaniety of Mādhavavarman and Tīvaradeva and cannot be taken seriously.
80. In my paper captioned "A note on the Ipur and Polamuru plates of Vishṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman" (*Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma Commemoration Volume*, *JAHRS*, xxxv, p. 167) these dates are wrongly printed as 489-490 or 482 A.D. There are a few other misprints also.
81. This date is sought to be brought down by Mirashi by omitting Vikaramendravarman's date, which is completely uncalled for. For discussion of the evidence of Tummalagudem plates of Vikaramendravarman II, see *supra*, Ch. VIII.
82. The point that the evidence afforded by the Tummalagudem plates of Vikaramendravarman II goes against the assumed contemporaniety of his great-grandfather Mādhavavarman with Tīvaradeva was first made out by us in our paper published in the *Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma Volume*, *JAHRS*, xxxv, pp. 165-168. *Vide* also our papers in *JESI*, v, pp. 20-25; vi, pp. 5-11.
83. *EI*, xxii. p. 17.
84. *JESI*, v. pp. 93-97; *Prāchya-Pratibhā*, v (i), pp. 41-47.
85. *EI*, xxxi, pp. 314-16; *Studies in Indian Epigraphy* (*JESI*), iii, pp. 152-53.
86. *IHQ*, xx, p. 275; xxii, p. 63.
87. This record is yet to be published. But its line 22 has been deciphered by Mirashi (*Studies in Indology*, i, p. 258, fn. 1) as follows :-*Sarvv-āvan-īśvara-śiro-maṇi-rāji-rājat-pād-āmbujaḥ śaśi-kul-āmbara-pūraṇa-chandraḥ/Āsīd=bhuvaḥ patiḥ ..... pāsta-ripur=Indraval-ābhidhānaḥ*. *Vide* also Hira Lal, *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, second edition, Nagpur, 1932, p. 126, no. 208.
88. There has been much controversy regarding the actual findspot of this inscription which has not been recorded carefully in the official records, and Bhandak (now called Bhadrāvatī) in the Chanda District of Maharashtra (*JBBRAS*, i, pp. 148 ff.. Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Reports*, ix, p. 127; *EI*, zxiii, pp. 116-117; *IA*, xxxvii, p. 208, fn. 20; *ibid.*, lxii, p, 163: Hira Lal, *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, p. 13, no. 14; *Bhandarkar's List*, no. 1650; *EI*, xxxi, p. 30; *ibid.*, xxxiij, p. 256; R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar (ed.) *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, pp. 90-91; R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalkar (ed.), *The Classical Age*, p. 221) or Ratnapur in the Bilaspur District (*JRAS*, 1905, p. 618); have been cited as its findspots; but the details given by Vinayakrao Aurangabadkar cited by Y.K. Deshpande and V.V, Mirashi (*Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 251-252; *EI*, xxvi, p. 227; *ibid.*, xxxiii, pp. 252-54; A.J. Rajurkar, *Chanadrāpūrachā Itihāsa* (Marathi), foreword (by Y.K. Deshpande) pp. 4-5), should leave no doubt that the inscribed slab hails from Arang.
89. Earlier Mirashi also conceded the necessasity of providing a few years (about three decades) for Tīvaradeva's prececessor. Vide *EI*, xxvi, p. 229. But later he ignored this fact. See *JESI*, iv, pp. 1-2.
90. We are inclined against the popularly held identification of Amarārya-kula with the Śarabhapurīyas.
91. *JESI*, v, p. 23; *ibid*., ix, pp. 40 ff. Also *vide supra*, Ch. XI.
92. *EI*, ix, pp. 342 ff; Hira Lal, *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, pp. 94-96, no. 170. The suggestion of some scholars that the date should be read as 181 (V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 252 ff.; Nisar Ahmad in *JOI*, xxiii, pp. 335ff. and *JESI*, v, pp. 126 ff.) is unconvincing.

93. For the date of this record, see our paper in *Sri Venkatesvara University Oriental Journal*, xxi-xxii, pp. 19ff. and *Bhāratī-Bhānam* (*Dr. K.V. Sarma Felicitation Volume*), Hoshiarpur 1980, pp. 439 ff.
94. This chronology was originally suggested by us in *JESI*, v. pp. 20-25.
95. *Rājyaṁ labdhv-aiva darpād=aviganitatayā Mādhavo jyeshṭha-bhāyān,*
Deśād=asmād=apāstuṁ Krita-vishama-matir=vigrahe Phāsikāyām/
Yuddhaṁ kshobhena magno nripati-varam=asau saṁśrito Trivar-ākhyaṁ,
Paśchāt ten-āpi sārdhaṁ punar=api vijito Vindhya-pādeshu jiṛṇaḥ//
This stanza is met with in the Koddenda (*EI*, xix, p. 269), Nivinna and Puri plates.
96. His Ganjam plates were issued in this year. *Vide EI*, vi, p. 143ff.
97. No other monarch of this name is known. The respectful manner in which Tīvara is mentioned (*nripati-vara*) is also noteworthy.
98. *EI*, xxxi p. 221, text-line 6.
99. R.D. Banerji (*History of Orissa*, i, p. 134) and A. Ghosh *EI*, xxv, pp. 269-70) are also inclined in favour of this identification.
100. V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, i, p. 247.
101. A. Ghosh, "Date of the Pāṇḍava Kings of Southern Kosala", *EI*, xxvi, pp. 266-69.
102. *Ibid* , xxvi, pp. 227-29; *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 252ff.
103. In fact, there is no reason to doubt the reading of the first symbol as 200; for the scribe has, by oversight, appended the slanting horizontal stroke to the left lower portion of the symbol for 100 instead of attaching it to its upper portion on right.
104. The brother of Indrabala, whose name is lost in Nannarāja's Arang stone inscription, perhaps ruled over a part of the Pāṇḍava kingdom in Kosala simultaneously with Indrabala. That he did come to power is indicated by the employment of the word *nripa* for him, and his son Bhavadeva, who may have succeeded him ruled over the same area simultaneously with Nannarāja and Iśānadeva. This reconstruction implies a division of the Pāṇḍava kingdom of Kosala after Udayana.
105. This is the date of the Lodhia plates and the only known plate (last one) of his Burhikhār (Mallar) charter.
106. V.V. Mirashi, "The Date of Tīvaradeva", *JESI*, vi, pp. 1-4; *Indological Research Papers*, pp. pp. 179 ff.
107. T. Watters, *On Yuan Chawang's Travels in India*, ii, p. 200; Shaman Hwui Li, *The Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, pp. 134-35.
108. *Vide* EI, xxiii, pp. 113 ff.; *ibid.*, xxxi pp. 197 ff.
109. V.V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*, *CII*, iv, part ii, p. 512, text-line 27.
110. *Ibid.*, p. 470, text-line 27.
111. Archaeologically speaking.
112. K.D. Bajpai and S.K. Pandey, *Mallar-1975-77*, Sagar, 1977, p. 36.
113. *Ibid.*, plates XV-XVI, and XVIIA and XVIIIB. In the description at pl. XVII the image of Hevajra is said to date from the eighth century, while at p. 35 the temple of Hevajra found in the excavations is described under Period III which is dated from *c.* 300 to 650 AD. There seems to be some confusion, and the temple, in case the image belonged to it, actually appears to date from the 8th-9th century. The description of the temple complex seems to support this date.

14

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PĀNḌUVAṀŚINS AND THE SOMAVAṀŚINS

The Pāṇḍuvaṁśins or Pāṇḍavas ruled over South Kosala till about the close of the eighth century A.D., after which we hear nothing about them. But when the curtain rises again about the middle of the following century, we find the scene shifted to the adjoining areas now included in Orissa where the members of what is called Soma-kula or Soma-vaṁśa are seen ruling for well over two and a half centuries. That these lines of rulers were related to one another is commonly agreed, but the nature of this relationship has been a matter of some dispute among scholars due to certain differences in some matters. However, the overwhelming epigraphic and circumstantial evidence leaves no doubt that the Soma-vaṁśins of Orissa were lineal descendants of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins.

South Kosala comprising the Chhattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh and the adjoining area of Orissa including the Kalahandi and Bolangir Districts was an important cultural unit and played a significant role in the early history, both political and cultural, of the Indian sub-continent, more particularly Central India and Eastern Deccan. Although quite a lot of epigraphic material bearing on the history of this area has come to light and has been subjected to searching analysis, several problems still continue to baffle historians. One of these problems concerns chronology. Sometimes one notices wide divergence of opinion regarding even a broad chronological outline. However, it is now generally agreed that the Śarabhapurīyas,[1] (so called after their capital Śarabhapura), who were the first to give South Kosala the status of an independent political unit, were followed by the Pāṇḍavas or Pāṇḍuvaṁśins who claimed a lunar origin for themselves. After Śivagupta (also called Mahāśivagupta) Bālārjuna we find no trace of the presence of the Pānduvaṁśins in the Chhattisgarh region forming the western part of South Kosala which, as the available evidence indicates, passed successively under the later Nalas, Bāṇas and Kalachuris, while the Orissan areas forming the eastern part of Kosala passed on, though possibly after some gap, to a dynasty referred to as Soma-kula in inscriptions which gradually extended its sway over a large part of Orissa.

There are definite indications that the members of the last mentioned dynasty were intimately connected with and in all likelihood belonged to the Pāṇḍuvamśa which, as pointed out above, had earlier held sway over the entire Kosala country for nearly a century and a half. To begin with, like the Pāṇḍuvamśins, these rulers also claimed descent from the moon and are, therefore, popularly known as Somavamśins. All the members of the family are described in their official records as 'ornaments of the family of the moon' (*Soma-kula-tilaka*). One of the members of the dynasty, Mahāśivagupta III Yayāti, is figuratively styled 'the full moon on the clear horizon of the lineage of the cool-rayed, *i.e.*. moon' (*'śit-āṁśu-vimai-āmbara-pūrṇṇa-chandra*).[2] Against the relationship between the two dynasties, D.R. Bhandarkar argued that the earlier rulers of Kosala belonged to the Pāṇḍuvamśa and if the Somavamśins also belonged to the same line it would be difficult to explain as to why they did not mention this family name even once in their records.[3] But this objection is untenable. It is true that not a single Somavamśin record known to date refers to the Pāṇḍu or Pāṇḍuva-vamśa. It must be remembered, however, that even in the inscriptions of the Pāṇḍuvamśins themselves the dynasty is mentioned by this name only up to the time of Mahāśiva Tīvara (popularly called Tīvaradeva),[4] while in all the subsequent records of the family its descent is traced from the moon.[4a] Thus, the Aḍhabhāra plates of Nannarāja II speak of his father Tīvaradeva as born in the *śaśi-vaṁśa*,[5] whereas in the Sirpur Lakshmaṇa Temple inscription of the time of Śivagupta Bālārjuna his grandfather Chandragupta is stated to have been born in the *chandr-anvaya*.[6] Another Sirpur stone inscription of the reign of the same king refers to the family under the name *śaśadha-ānvaya* in connection with Udayana, the first member of the dynasty.[7] Śivagupta Bālārjuna himself is spoken of as born in the *soma-vaṁśa*[8] or *śitāṁśu-vaṁśa*.[9] What is of even greater interest in this connection is the fact that a fragmentary epigraph found in the Lakhmeshwar temple at Kharod describes Indrabala, son of Udayana and grandfather of Tīvaradeva, as the very full moon in the sky that is the *śaśi-kula*.[10] And there can be perhaps nothing more astounding than the fact that the very expression *śīt-āṁśu-vaṁśa-vimal-āmbara-pūrṇṇa-chandra* which, as we have seen above, is found in the Jotesinga-Dungri plates of Mahāśivagupta III Yayāti occurs without the slightest change in connection with the Pāṇḍuvamśin monarch Śivagupta Bālārjuna in the Senkapat inscription of his reign,[11] and though the identity of words may be purely accidental, it is no strking that one should not be surprised if it were to be suggested that the Somavamśin eulogist was quoting *ad-verbatim* from the Pāṇḍuvamśin record. While the total absence of the mention of the Pāṇḍu-vamśa in the post-Tīvaradeva records is rather inexplicable, we need not attach undue importance to the non-mention of this name in the Somavamśin inscriptions which obviously take a cue from the later Pāṇḍuvamśins. Secondly, the Somavamśins, like the Pāṇḍuvamśins,[12] adopted names beginning with the word *mahat*.[13] Thirdly, following the practice obtaining

among the later members of the Pāṇḍu-vaṁśa,[14] the Somavaṁśins also assumed names terminating with *gupta*.[15] Fourthly, it is noteworthy that these names, which were probably assumed at the time of coronation and are thus indicative of regal power, were different from the personal names which are often met with in the *praśasti* portion or in connection with the specification of date in many an inscription.[16] This appears to be true of at least some of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśin chiefs also.[17] Fifthly, repetition of names, specially in the third generation, is also common to the two families.[18] Sixthly, we find that some of the names are met with in both the dynasties. The name Śivagupta or Mahāśivagupta borne by the last known Pāṇḍuvaṁśin chief,[19] for instance, is known to have been very popular among the Somavaṁśins.[20] Similarly, the name Bhavadeva assumed by one of the early members of the Pāṇḍu-vaṁśa is found to have been very common among the Somakulins in the form Mahābhavagupta which appears to have been borne in alternative generations. Likewise, the name Kesarin is found commonly associated with both the dynasties. Bhavadeva, an early member of the Pāṇḍu-vaṁśa, was also known as Raṇakesarin[21] which also happened to be the name of the younger brother of the last known member of the same family, *viz.*, Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna.[22] The Somavaṁśins are also referred to as the Kesarī kings in the late mediaeval Orissan chronicles called *Mādalā-pañjī* indicating that in later times the dynasty was popularly-known as Kesarin although this name is nowhere met with in the numerous records of the family itself which invariably style the dynasty Soma-kula. That this tradition is not entirely without foundation is vouched for by such *kesarin*-ending names as Uddyotakesarin and Karṇakesarin[23] borne by two of the Somavaṁśin rulers. Some other local chiefs of the eastern part of South Kosala flourishing during the Somavaṁśin period are also known to have borne similar names. To this category appear to belong Kesarin known from a couple of coins,[24] Bālakesarin brought to light by a carnelian seal,[25] both found at Balpur in the Raigarh District of Madhya Pradesh, and Raṇakesarin mentioned in an inscription from Govindapur in the old Nayagarh State in Orissa.[26] Seventhly, the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins are primarily known to have been rulers of Kosala,[27] and this claim is explicitly met with in all the known inscriptions of Mahāśiva Tivara[28] and his son and successor Nennarāja II.[29] Numerous copper-plate charters of the Somavaṁśins afford enough evidence of their close connections with this area, specially during the earlier period. At the end of the three Chaudwar charters of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, for example, the king is styled *Kosalendra i.e.*, 'lord of Kosala'.[30] The Patna copper-plate grant of the eighth regnal year of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti describes king Svabhāvatuṅga as the very moon causing moonlight that is the protection of Kosala,[31] whereas in the Jatesinga-Dungri plates the issuer, Mahāśivagupta III Yayāti is said to have been well-known for the *svayaṁvaras* of/in Kosalā.[32] We also have instances of the appointment of officers specially to look after Kosalā. Thus, we find mention of the *Sandhivagrahin*

(minister in charge of peace and war) of Kosalā in the Patna plates of twenty-eighth year of the reign of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti,[33] while the Balijhari plates of Uddyotakesain speak of Rudradatta as the *Mahāsāndhivigrahin* of Utkala and Kosalā.[34] We learn from the Kelga plates of *Kumāra* Someśvara that his ancestor Abhimanyu had obtained the kingdom of Kosala as a favour from the Somakulin ruler Uddyotakesarin.[35] Then again, the villages granted through some of the copper-plate charters of the family were situated in Kosala, and the grantees of a few of the charters are reported to have been inhabitants of villages said to have been located in Kosala. To cite a few examples, the villages gifted away through the Sonepur[36] and the second Kalibhana plates[37] of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, the Patna plates of the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti[38] and the Jatesinga-Dungri plates of Mahāśivagupta III Yayāti[39] are stated to have been situated in the Kosala-*deśa*, whereas in the case of the Chaudwar plates of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya,[40] the Patna plates of the eighth year of the reign of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti[41] and his Nibinna plates[42] and the Cuttack plates of Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha[43] not only were the donated villages situated in Kosala, but the donees were also residents of villages located in Kosala or included in an administrative division forming part of Kosala. These affinities are too strong to be ignored in any discussion on the relationship between the Pāṇḍuvamśins and the Somavamśins who would thus appear to have been very closely related to each other.

Let us now take note of some possible objections against this view. The big chronological gap that is commonly supposed to separate the two dynasties is often cited as an argument against any lineal relationship between them. Fleet, Kielhorn and other earlier scholars were inclined to date the reign of Tīvaradeva in the eighth and that of his great grand-nephew Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna about the beginning of the ninth century A.D. Later writers on the subject like V.V. Mirashi and D.C. Sircar tried to push back the dates of Tīvaradeva and Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna considerably earlier and proposed to date them about the middle of the sixth and that of the following centuries respectively. According to the later view, Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna, the last known ruling chief of the Pāṇḍu-vamśa, closed his reign, and with that the rule of the family, about the middle of the seventh century A.D. As regards the Somavamśins, after a detailed palaeographic examination of a few of the copper-plate grants of some of the members of the dynasty J.F. Fleet arrived at the conclusion that these records 'cannot possibly be placed before A.D. 900' and that, on the whole, 'the characters are of the eleventh century, and that the kings mentinned in them are to be placed between A.D. 1000 and 1100.[44] But both these theories stand in need or constantial modification. We have shown elsewhere that the consideration of the evidences that have come to light during the last four decades or so forces us to place the reign of Tīvaradeva in the latter half of the seventh century A.D., and accordingly the termination of

the reign of his great grand-nephew Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna will have to be dated about the close of the eighth century A.D.[45] We are not quite sure, but if Bālārjuna's younger brother Raṇakesarin and son Śivanandin also ruled after him, their rule may also have covered a few decades in the first half of the ninth century. As for the second point, scholars now generally favour dating the commencement of the Somavamśin rule at least a century earlier than the date suggested by Fleet.[46] When D.C. Sircar proposed tentatively A.D. 915 for the commencement of the rule of Śivagupta I, father of Mahābhavagupta I,[47] the Mahulpada plates of the 11th year of Mahāśivagupta II Yayāti[48] and the Ratnagiri plates of the 6th year of Karṇa[49] as well as the recently discovered Kamalpur plates of the fourth year of the some ruler[50] were not known. The discovery of these records and consideration of a few other points now necessitates the antedating of the beginning of the Somakulin rule than believed hitherto. In view of these evidences we have got to place the accession of Śivagupta, father of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, about the middle of the ninth century A.D., the exact date being left open for further research. It will follow from this discussion that the gap between the end of the Pāṇḍuvamśin rule and the commencement of the Somakulin rule is just about half a century or even less which is not very difficult to bridge and it may be filled in by future discoveries. It will require just one or a couple of generations to cover this small gap.[51]

Another possible argument against the connection between the two dynasties may relate to the characters used in their inscriptions. It is undoubtedly true that all the Pāṇḍuvamśin copper-plate grants are incised in box-headed characters, while the records of the Somavamśins are written in Nāgarī of the northern class. However, the employment of the box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet is confined only to the copper-plate charters of the Pāṇḍuvamśins who apper to have continued their use by way of convention only for their official charters, while all their numerous lithic records dating from the reign of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna are incised in the proto Nāgarī characters. The reign of Mahāśivagupta, thus, seems to represent the transitional phase, and the Somavamśins gave up finally the use of the box-headed characters as they were no longer popularly understood, particularly in the region to which they had now shifted.

And lastly, the attention may be invited to the differences in the legends and device on the seals affixed to the copper-plate charters of the members of the two lines. This question was actually raised by H.C. Ray who pointed out that on the seals of the Somavamśins 'we miss the well-known *Garuḍa* of the Śrīpura kings' and have instead Gaja-Lakshmī as on the seals of the Kalachuris of Tripurī and Tummāṇa. He indeed showed awareness of the use of different devices on seals by the different branches of the same tribe,[52] but at the same time he took the differences in question to indicate that 'the founder of the new branch (Somava-

mśins)[53] must have been separated from his relatives of the old branch (Pāṇḍu-vamśins)[54] by a comparatively long interval.'[55] But a consideration of the available evidence shows that the change of emblem on the royal seal need not be taken to be of much historical significance. For, we sometimes notice change in the royal emblem even within the same family itself, often coinciding with the changed religious affiliations. When Ray wrote, seals of Tīvaradeva along were known, and, being a Parama-Vaishṇava, he naturally chose a Vaishṇavite emblem (Garuḍa) for his official seal. With the transfer of allegiance to Śaivism, Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna, the last known monarch of the same line, substituted Garuḍa by Nandin, the mount of Śiva, on his seal. Thus, the difference of the seal-device is not necessarily indicative of any difference of branch of the same tribe or a long interval. As for the Gaja-Lakshmī device, which occurs on the seals of most of the charters of the Somavamśins who are known to have been Parama-Mahāśvaras, it must be remembered that it could be adopted by any dynasty or ruling chief irrespective of sectarian leanings as she was supposed to symbolise royal fortune and was, therefore, popularly worshipped.[56]

We may thus reasonably conclude that the Somavamśins were lineally connected with the Somakulins, nay, both belonged to the same family, and the little chronological gap between them, though inexplicable at the moment, may be filled in by future epigraphical discoveries. Some other apparent differences between them are also not of such a serious nature as to indicate a line of demarcation and can be explained away easily.

Notes and References

1. For a detailed discussion of the history of the Śarabhapurīyas, see *supra*, ch. XI.
2. In Jatesinga-Dungri plates, text-line 15. See *JBORS*, ii, p. 53.
3. *IA* lxi, p. 241.
4. In all, four epigraphs refer to this name. This so-called Bhandak (actually Arang) stone inscription of the time of Nannarāja I avers that Udayana was born in the Pāṇḍava-vaṁśa (*JRAS*, 1905, pp. 617 ff., verse 16). All the three known copper-plate charters of Tivaradeva state that his father Nannarāja I adorned the Pāṇḍu-vaṁśa (*alaṁkṛita-pāṇḍu-vaṁsa*). See *EI*, xxxiv, p. 115, text-line 16; *CII*, iii, p. 295, text-line 16; *EI*, vii, pp. 102 ff.; text-lines 16-17.

4a. It may be reasonably concluded that the dynasty claimed to have belonged to the lunar race and within the lunar race it traced its origin from the Pāṇḍavas.

5. *EI*, xxxi p. 220, text-line 5.
6. *Ibid.*, xi, pp. 184 ff., verse 4.
7. *AI*, xviii, pp. 179 ff., verse 2.
8. *EI*, xxvii, p. 290, text-line 4; *Prāchya-Pratibhā*, v (i), p. 51, text-lines 4-5.
9. *EI*, xxxi, p. 35, verse 3.
10. V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, i, p. 258, fn. 1.
11. *EI*, xxxi p. 35, verse 3.

12. The practice of prefixing *mahat* to the name appears to have been initiated by the Śarabhapurīyas who preceded the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins.
13. Śivagupta, father of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, alone is mentioned in most of the records of his son without the prefix *mahat*.
14. *Cf.* the names of the last three ruling chiefs of the family, *viz.*, Chandragupta, Harshagupta and Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna. This practice is not known to have been prevalent in the later period.
15. *Cf.* the names Mahābhavagupta and Mahāśivagupta which were so very common in the dynasty.
16. *E.g.*, Janamejaya, Yayāti, Bhīmaratha, Dharmaratha, Indraratha Uddyotakesarin and Karṇakesarin which are found mentioned in the non-formal portion of the official charters and in stone inscriptions and were apparently personal names.
17. See, for example, Tīvaradeva and Bālārjuna which were obviously personal names of Mahāśiva and Mahāśivagupta respectively. The same appears to have been the case with some of Śarabhapurīya chiefs (*e.g.*, Prasannamātra and Mānamātra) also.
18. *Cf.* the names Raṇakesarin, Nanna and Mahāśiva which were repeated at least twice in the Pāṇḍu-vaṁśa, the last two in the third generation. In the Soma-kula this practice was too common to need illustration.
19. This name is known to have been borne by not less than five Somavaṁśin monarchs.
20. Tīvaradeva, grand-uncle of Bālārjuna, was known as Mahāśiva.
21. See *JRAS*, 1905, pp. 616 ff., verse 20.
22. *EI*, xi, pp. 184 ff., verse 12; Hira Lal, *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, p. 110, no. 183.
23. While in the records of his own reign he is called simply Karṇa or Mahāśivagupta, we learn from the commentary on verse 5 of the second *parichchheda* of the *Rāmapāla-charita* of Sandhyākaranandin that the lord of Utkala defeated by a feudatory under the Pāla monarch Ramapala was popularly known as Karṇakesarin. See *EI*, xxxiii, p. 265.
24. *JAHARS*, iii, p. 181.
25. *OHRJ*, iv, pp. 58-59, pl. i.
26. S.N. Rajaguru, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, iv, p. 353. For the plate, see Binayak Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma-Karas*, p. 74.
27. Although at times the Panduvamsin rule extended to certain bordering areas in Vidarbha and Orissa, the terriories under the family were primarily those comprised in Kosala.
28. *EI*, xxxiv, p. 115, text-lines 16-17; *CII*, iii, p. 295, textline - 16 (*Kosalādhipatyaḥ* has been omitteed by inadvertence, only *prāptaḥ* being engraved); *EI*, vii, pp. 102 ff., text-line 19.
29. The Adhabhāra plates of Nannarāja II credit his father Tīvaradeva with overlordship over Kosala, Utkala and other *maṇḍalas*, while Nanna himself is described simply as the lord of the whole of the Kosala-*maṇḍala*. See *EI*, xxx, pp. 220-221, text-lines 5-7 and 8-9.
30. EI, iii, pp. 345 ff., verse 16.
31. *JAS*, Letters, xix, pp. 117-124, verse 15.
32. *JBORS*, ii, p. 53, text-line 14. The line refers to *svayaṁvaras* in Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda and Utkala also.
33. *JASB*, New Series I (1905), pp. 19 ff., text-line 69.
34. *IHQ*, xxxv, p. 104, verse 28.
35. *EI*, xxviii, pp. 324-325, text-lines 1-5.
36. *Ibid.*, xxiii, pp. 248 ff., text-line 13.
37. *IHQ*, xx, p. 247, text-line 4-5.
38. *JASB*, New Series, i, (1905), pp. 16-18, text-line 25.
39. *JBORS*, ii, p. 53, text-line 18. We have simply the name Kosala without the suffix *deśa*.

40. *EI*, xxx, pp. 345 ff., text-lines 4 and 11.
41. *JASB*, New Series i, pp. 14-16, text-lines 5 and 10. In the latter line we have only Kosala, the suffix, *deśa*, found in line 5, being omitted.
42. *EI*, xi, pp. 95 ff., text-lines 4-5 and 15, in the latter case Kosala only.
43. *Ibid.*, iii, pp. 355 ff., text-lines 31 and 38-39 (Kosala alone in both the cases).
44. *Ibid.*, iii, p. 333.
45. See para, ch xiii.
46. See D.C. Sircar in *A History and Culture of the Indian People*,i v : *The Age of Imperial Kanauj* (ed. R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalkar), p. 146, where the accession of Śivagupta I is proposed to be dated in *c.* 915 A.D.
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Studies in Indian Epigraphy* (JESI), i, pp. 84-96.
49. JBORS, xvi, pp. 206-210; *EI*, xxxiii, pp. 263-268.
50. Information kindly supplied by Smt. Snigdha Tripathy, Epigraphist, Orissa State Museum.
51. Hira Lal tried to cover this gap by supposing a few generations and appears to have been nearer the truth though some of his other views cannot be accepted. *EI*, xi, pp. 184 ff.
52. By way of examples he pointed out that the Kalachuris of Tripurī and Tummāṇa adopted the figure of Gaja-Lakshmī for their seals while the seals of the Kalachuris of Gorakhpur and Kalyāṇa bear the figure of a bull. See *Dynastic History of Northern India*, i, p. 395.

53-54. Names within parantheses are added by us.

55. H.C. Ray, *op. cit.*, 395-396.
56. On early Indian coins we come across numerous examples of the depiction of goddess Lakhmī by the adherents of different religious sects.

15

GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF LATER SOMAVAMŚINS

The Later Somavaṁśins, or Somakulins as they are called in their own records, ruled in Dakshiṇa Kosala and Orissa for over two centuries from about mid-ninth to the early years of the twelfth century A.D. Even though their genealogy and order of succession are generally well documented due to availability of a good number of their epigraphs, there are certain questions appertaining the middle phase which have been engaging the attention of the historians who have failed to provide satisfactory answers for want of requisite information. Of late a few records throwing some welcome light on these questions have been reported. Chronology has been even more controversial, and the commencement of the Somakula rule has been dated variously. The same was true of certain other points including the dating of individual reigns. It is felt that a reappraisal or already known evidence and some recent discoveries, if interpreted properly, should help us solve some of these problems, and this is what is exactly attempted in these pages. Some evidence hitherto not taken into account has been, for the first time, brought to bear upon these problems, and it has possible to arrive at new, and probably more satisfactory, conclusions.

The Pāṇḍuvamśins, also known as Somavamśins, who, for all practical purposes, were the political successors of the kings of Śarabhapura, ruled over South Kosala for about a couple of centuries whereafter they soon to have lost the western part of their kingdom (*i.e.*, Chhattisgarh region or a major portion thereof) and moved eastward to become in due course a purely Orissan power, retaining only a precarious connection with Kosala for a major part of the period of their rule. In their epigraphic records the lineage to which they belonged is generally called Soma-kula, but the historians commonly designate them as Somavamśins in order to differentiate them from their ancestors, *viz.*, the Pāṇḍuvamśins, who were primarily a Kosalan power.[1]

Fortunately, we have fairly numerous records, both stone inscriptions and copper-plate charters, which help us reconstruct their genealogy and order of succession with some degree of certainty; but in many a case the extant evidence is

of an ambiguous character giving rise to divergent views. There prevails much greater difference of opinion regarding their chronology. It is, therefore, propsed to discuss at some length the evidence bearing on these problems with a view to arrive at acceptable conclusions.

GENEALOGY AND ORDER OF SUCCESSION

According to extant inscriptions, the first member of the Soma-kula was Śivagupta who is mentioned in the records of his successor with all the imperial titles with the solitary exception of *Trikaliṅgādhipati*. Some scholars are inclined to regard him as identical with Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna, the last known member of the Pāṇḍu-vamśa.[2] Hira Lal, on the other hand, was felt that Śivagupta separated from Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna by one reign, *viz.*, that of a Mahābhavagupta, who is supposed to have intervened between them.[3] We are also inclined to believe that the apparent chronological gap between these two reigns may have witnessed the rule of one or two chiefs or that there may have been actually no gap between them, Śivagupta of the Somakulin inscriptions being no other than Bālārjuna. We must, however, refrain from speculation in this regard for want of necessary evidence which alone can solve this riddle.

Reverting back to recorded facts, Śivagupta[4] was the first member of the dynasty, and it was on his feet that the next ruler, Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, meditated. We have no record of Sivagupta himself,[5] but he finds mention in all the known epigraphs of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya. The relationship between them is nowhere explicitly stated; but the way they are mentioned seems to show that the latter was the son of the former.[6] Subsequent records of the family drop the name of Sivagupta altogether and begin their historical account with the next chief, *viz.*, Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya.

As many as thirteen records[7] are available for the reign of Sivagupta's son and successor, Māhābhavagupta Janamejaya, who is the first chief of the dynasty to be mentioned in later inscriptions. As he is the first monarch of this name, we may designate him Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya. His *Mahāsandhivigrahin* or minister of peace and war from at least the sixth[8] to at least the thirty-first year of his reign was *Rāṇaka* Malladatta, son of Dhāradatta, and was succeeded, sometime before the thirty-fourth year, by *Rāṇaka* Dhāradatta,[9] who was probably his son.[10] We may designate the two Dhāradattas as Dhāradatta I and II. Members of this family continued to serve the Somakulins for several generations, and allusions to them in connection with the execution of grants are of immense use in ascertaining the genealogy, order of succession and chronology of the Somakula.

The son and successor Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya was Mahāśivagupta I[11] Yayāti who is known from six copper-plate charters of his reign[12] as well as references in the records of some of his descendants.[13] In one of the later records

the historical account of the dynasty begins with him.[14] The office of the *Mahā-sāndhivigrahika* continued to be held by Dhāradatta till at least the twenty-fourth year of his reign, and it devolved on one Simhadatta, probably hailing from the same ministerial family as indicated by the name ending *datta*, sometime in or prior to his twenty-eighth regnal year.[15]

Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti was succeeded by his son Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha for whose reign we have a couple of records[16] besides allusions to him encountered in later inscriptions.[17] Simhadatta continued as *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* up to at least the third year of his reign.[18]

Mahāśivagupta II Dharmaratha, who succeeded his father Mahābhavagupta II, is known from his recently discovered Mahulpara grant[19] apart from numerous references to him scattered in later records of dynasty.[20]

So far we are on sure grounds, thanks to the availability of clear epigraphic evidence; but the same cannot be said regarding the succeeding generations. According to the Balijhari[21] and Sankhameri[22] grants of Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyotakesarin and the Ratnagiri plates of his greatgrandson Karṇa,[23] Dharmaratha was succeeded by his *bhrātṛi* (uterine or step-brother) Naghusha (Nahusha) and Nahusha by his *anuja* (younger brother or cousin) Yayāti who was himself followed by his son Uddyotakesarin. Nahusha is, however, not mentioned in any other record nor do we have any record of Nahusha himself, making it difficult to ascertain the exact manner in which he was related to Dharmaratha. Even though there is no clear evidence at present available on this question, he may provisionally be taken to have been a younger uterine brother of the latter. However, while these epigraphs give the name of the next king, who was the father of Uddyotakesarin, as Yayāti, he is called Chaṇḍīhara in the Mahada plate of Uddyotakesarin[24] and Brahmeśvara temple (Bhubaneswar) inscription of his mother Kolāvatī,[25] indicating that he was known by both these names.[26] The last mentioned inscription drops Naghusha and sheds welcome light on the life and activities of Chaṇḍīhara.[27] We are told that Dharmaratha[28] passed away without leaving a son to inherit the kingdom, and the entire country (*i.e.*, kingdom) was overrun by various soldiers (*nānā-bhaṭas*). In this way some time passed somehow while a great hero (*prabala-pravīra*) bided his time in another country. Subsequent description should leave no doubt that this self-exiled hero was none else than Chaṇḍīhara himself who, it is said, was then anointed king by all the ministers (*amātyas*). He is said to have been son of Abhimanyu, grandson of Vichitravirya and great-grandson of Janamejaya who has to be identified with Mahābhavagupta I.[29] It may accordingly be concluded that Chaṇḍīhara *alias* Yayāti hailed from a collateral line and was a cousin of Mahāśivagupta II Dharmaratha. Although the name of Nahusha is omitted in Brahmeśvara temple inscription, the evidence of official records of Uddapotakesarin (Balijhari and Sankhameri plates) and Karṇa (Ratnagiri plates) is too explicit to permit any doubt about the fact of his acces-

sion. In view of the clear reference to this event in these records, Nahusha's omission in an inscription set up by Uddyotakesarin is somewhat surprising. It appears that as he ruled during the troubled period intervening between the death of Dharmaratha and the rise of Chaṇḍihara to regal power when the very existence of the Somakula power was in doubt, the author of the Brahmeśvara inscription, which, though set up by the queen mother, was a private record, did not feel it necessary to mention Nahusha who somehow managed to maintain his precarious existence. For if we were to take the description of this inscription literally, it will be tantamount to accepting the unlikely, nay impossible, hypothesis that the Somakula throne was without a ruler for quite some time. We must now take note of the Banpur plates of Indraratha[30] who is described as a son of Bhīmaratha born of his queen Durgā. There can be no doubt that this Indraratha is identical with the homonymous chief of Somavamśa said to have been vanquished by the Choḷa monarch Rājendra at Yayātinagara.[31] The Banpur plates further inform us that Indraratha had two younger brothers, Vaṅkaratha and Saṅkararatha, and had secured royal fortune of Kaliṅga by the favour of Dharmaratha and killed one Abhimanyu who had obtained kingdom by resorting to dubious means. We have no evidence to show that Vaṅkaratha and Saṅkararatha ever ascended the throne. For want of necessary evidence it is impossible at present to determine the exact relationship of Nahusha and Indraratha as well as their place in the history of the family. There is no doubt, however, that both of them assumed power posterior to Dharmaratha and prior to Chaṇḍihara *alias* Yayāti. In the case of Nahusha this fact is explicitly mentioned in the Balijhari, Sankhameri and Ratnagiri plates, whereas Indraratha, who was presumably a step-brother of Dharmaratha,[32] cannot also be placed anywhere else in the history of the Somavaṁśins. We have definite evidence to indicate that Mahāśivagupta was the coronation name of Chaṇḍīhara Yayāti. Considering the facts that the names Mahābhavagupta and Mahāśivagupta were adopted alternately by the Somakula kings and that in the official records Nahusha is referred to just before Yayāti, D.C. Sircar has suggested that Nahusha was styled Mahābhavagupta and had Indraratha as his other name.[33] The suggested identity of Nahusha and Indraratha, however, cannot stand scrutiny for the following reasons; (i) Indraratha is described at great length in his Banpur plates, which, however, do not mention the name Nahusha; (ii) the Balijhari, Sankhameri and Ratnagiri plates, which form our only source of information regarding Nahusha, do not refer to him by his supposed other name Indraratha; and (iii) neither Choḷa[34] nor Paramāra[35] inscriptions, which refer to the victory of Rājendra Choḷa and Bhoja respectively over Indraratha, do not record the name Nahusha. We have, therefore, to regard Nahusha and Indraratha as two separate individuals, and not as two different names of the same person. Such evidence as is available appears to indicate that Dharmaratha was succeeded by Nahusha while the latter was followed by Indraratha who, in all likelihood, had uprooted Nahusha. This supposition may find support from the non-mention of Nahusha in the Banpur plates. The

omission of Indraratha in the subsequent records (*viz.*, those of Uddyotakesarin and Karṇa) appears to have been deliberate and due to highly strained relations between him on the one hand and Chaṇḍihala Yayāti and his decendants on the other. The hostility between these two factions is vouched for by certain statements contained in the Banpur grant. We are told that Dharmaratha had appointed Indraratha as governor of Kaliṅga which the latter had captured by his own prowess and that Indraratha had killed a certain Abhimanyu (and many of his officers) in the battle-field and occupied and enjoyed his royal fortune with the consent of the Brāhmaṇas. We are inclined to identify this Abhimanyu with Chaṇḍihara's homonymous father. Once this identification is conceeded, it will be easy to explain satisfactorily the course of events that followed. It was evidently because of the murder of his father Abhimanyu and the forcible occupation of the Somakula territory by Indraratha that Chaṇḍihara was forced to bide his time in another country. This civil war for succession will also satisfactorily account for the necessity for Chaāṇḍihara's installation on the throne by all the ministers as stated in the inscription of his queen Kolāvatī. It may, therefore, be concluded that after Dharmaratha the Somakula kingdom passed on successively to Nuhusha, Indraratha and Yayāti *alias* Chaṇḍihara and that the occupation of the kingdom by Abhimanyu actually represents an attempt of a collateral line to capture the throne which, notwithstanding his death and following calamity, proved ultimately successful.

Chaṇḍihara, who forcibly succeeded Indraratha, is mention both as Yayāti and Mahāśivagupta in his Jatesinga-Dungari plates. Therefore, in order to distinguish him from his earlier and subsequent namesakes he may be called Mahāśivagupta III Yayāti II *alias* Chaṇḍihara. According to this assumption, there was no other Mahāśivagupta between him and Dharmaratha. He is said to have meditated upon the feet of a Mahābhavaguputa whom we propose to identify with Nahusha. Nahusha's successor Indraratha does not mention himself by the *gupta*-ending name in his own Banpur plates; probably he did not assume such a name due to confused political conditions which rendered the validity of his claim to sovereign power douhtful. In any case, later records leave no doubt about a deliberate attempt on the part of Chaṅḍihara and his descendants to ignore Indraratha altogether, obviously owing to hostilly caused by family feud, as well as his ignominious reverses at the hands of the Choḷas and the Paramāras. This also resulted in his being denied a *gupta*-ending coronation name.[36] The Datta family continued to hold ministerial office during Chaṅḍihara's reign, and his only extant charter, *i.e.*, the Jatesinga-Dungari plates, was executed by *Rāṇak* Rudradatta, nephew of Simhadatta. who was the *Mahāsāndhivigrahska* during (the closing years of) the reign of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti and that of his son and successor Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha, and grandson of Harshadatta.[37]

Some scholars are in favour of attributing the Jatesinga-Dungari grant to the first member of the Somakula, Sivagupta, who, as pointed out above, is known from his son's records.[38] As shown by D.C. Sircar,[39] this suggestion cannot be conceded because this record mentions Simhadatta's nephew Rudradatta as *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* which should suffice to date it in the period following Bhīmaratha's reign. It must also be pointed out that the military achievements attributed to Yayāti go well with those credited to Chaṇḍīhara in subsequent inscriptions. And lastly, it is noteworthy in this context that while no earlier record mentions Rudradatta.[40] he is referred to in later records.[41]

The son and sucessor of Mahāśivagupta III Yayāti II Chaṇḍīhara was Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyotakesarin for whose reign we have as many as seven records.[42] He is also eulogised in some later inscriptions.[43] Till at least the eleventh year of his reign the office of the minister of peace and war was held by Rudradatta who was responsible for the execution of all his known complete copper-plate charters.[44]

While we have a number of records to guide us about the genealogy and order of succession so far, for the subsequent period there is just one record containing relevant information, *viz.*, Ratnagiri plates of Karṇa, the last known monarch of the family. We are told that Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyotakesarin was succeeded by his son Janamejaya and the latter in turn by his son Purañjaya. Referenee may be made in this connection to the recently published Nuapatna plates recording a grant of *Mahākumara Yuvarāja* Dharmaratha during the reign of Janamejaya for whom the usual titles are employed.[45] As this record bears certain resemblances of a general nature with the Kelga plates of Someśvara, a later of the family,[46] we may, perhaps, reasonably, though tentatively, identify Janamejaya mentioned in it with the homonymous son of Uddyotakerarin known from the Ratnagiri plates and regard Dharmaratha as his son. As the names Mahābhavagupta and Mahāśivagupta were alternately assumed by the Somakula chiefs and Uddyotakesarin and Karṇa, successor and younger brother of Purañjaya, are known to have assumed these two coronation names in this very order. Janamejaya and Purañjaya respectively may be reasonably taken to have styled themselves as Mahāśivagupta and Mahābhavagupta. They may accordingly be called respectively Mahāśivagupta IV Janamejaya II and Mahābhavagupta V Purañjaya.

Mahābhavagupta V Purañjaya was followed by his younger brother Mahāśivagupta V Karṇa who is repressented by a couple of copper-plate charters[47] and a stone image inscription.[48] Under the name Karṇakesarin he is also referred to in a scholium on the *Rāma-charita* of Sandhyākaranandin.[49]

We learn from the Kelga plates of Someśvara that Uddyotakesarin had installed one Abnimanyu as the ruler of Kosala and that he was followed, after the termination of his rule (*atīta-rājye*), by Someśvara.[50] The record is totally reticent

regarding the manner in which these chiefs were related to one another. As for Uddyotakesarin, there should be no doubt about his being identical with the above-mentioned homonymous monarch. As regards the other two chiefs, we may presume with some justification that Abhimanyu, who may have been named after the above-mentioned earlier ruler of this name, wns a younger brother (or step-brother) of Uddyotakesarin and that Someśvara was either another younger brother of Uddyotakesarin or a son of Abhimanyu, the latter alternative being more probable.

An inscription from Govindapur[51] refers to a certain Raṇakesarin who, too, may have belonged to the same family, though we have no definite evidence on this question. Lack of necessary evidence makes it difficult to ascertain his place in the dynasty. Some scholars propose to read the name of a chief Vīravarakesarin in a short epigraph found in the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar and place him in the Somakula, apparently on the basis of the name ending *kesarin*.[52] However, as pointed out by Suryanarayana Rao,[53] the name should be correctly read as Vīranarakesarī instead of Vīravarakesarī, and the allusion may be to the Eastern Gaṅga monarch Narasiṁha. According to the late local chronicle of the Jagannātha temple at Purī called *Mādalāpañjī*, the last Somavaṁśa chief, who was vanquished by the Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Chodagaṅga thereby effacing the Somakula kingdom, waa Suvarṇakesarin. But we need not attach much importance to this and similar other statements contained in the *Mādalāpañjī*, a text of extremely doubtful authenticity,[54] in the absence of corroborative evidence.

II

CHRONOLOGY

In keeping with the Kosalan tradition handed down by the Śarabhapurīyas and the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins, the Somavaṁśins also dated their records only with reference ro the regnal years of concerned monarchs. Not a single record mentions any known era. This fact has given rise to uncertainty about their chronology which, in spite of having been debated for over a century, continues to form a subject of keen controversy among historians.

A few legends recorded in a late local chronicle of the Jagannātha temple at Purī called *Madalāpañjī* led some early writers on the subject to date the accession of Yayāti, the supposed founder of the Kesarin dynasty (Somo-vaṁśa), about the middle of the fifth century A.D.[55] However, the legendary character of the *Mādalāpañjī* was soon established by the discovery of epigraphic records of the family, and now nobody attaches much significance to the confused traditions found in it. Hence forward inscriptional evidence supplemented by some other sources became the mainstay of the study of the annals of the Somakulins.

J.F. Fleet was the first to examine critically the palaeographic evidence afforded by a few copper-plate inscriptions of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti and Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha[56] for chronological purposes. According to him, the 'general result of the palaeographic considerations, taken together' was 'that these records cannot possibly be placed before A.D. 900.' He felt inclined to date their characters in the eleventh century and assign the chiefs responsible for issuing these charters somewhere between 1000 and A.D. 1100[57] Agreeing with Fleet in placing the first three reigns of the dynasty in about the eleventh century A.D., F. Kielhorn held that on palaeographical considerations the Kudopali plates of the reign of Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha could not be dated prior to about the first half of the following century,[58] Palaeographical evidence alone cannot, however, be depended upon for settling chronological problems, for students of epigraphy are well aware of the occurrence of the so-called archaic forms of letters in comparatively later inscriptions and of late forms in early inscriptions. We know of cases where dates determined solely on palaeographic grounds had to be abandoned.[59] The same is true of the Somakulins, and no scholar now gives eredence to the chronological value of palaeographical considerations that had led Fleet and Kielhorn to date the early members of the Soma-vaṁśa in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[60] We must, therefore, look for some other evidence such as contacts with other ruling chiefs known from contemporary epigraphs, particularly datable ones. which would provide a more solid basis for determining the chronology of the Somavaṁśins. We propose to examine some such data in these pages.

Two copper-plate grants of the Bhauma-Kara queen Pṛithvīmahādevị *alias* Tribhuvanamahādevī II issued in the Bhauma-Kara year 158 and found at Baud inform us that she was the daughter of Kosala king (*Kosalādhipati*) Svabhāvatuṅga of the lunar dynasty and born of Nṛittāmahādevī, daughter of one Yaśovṛiddhi. We are further told that she had come to power in consequence of her husband Kusumahāra II *alias* Subhākara IV and his brother Lalitahāra II *alias* Sivakara III having expired without leaving behind male issues to inherit the throne.[61] Reference to king Svabhāvatuṅga belonging to the lunar dynasty is also met with in a few eulogistic stanzas appended to the Patna plates of the eighth year of the reign of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti.[62] It is agreed that he (Svabhāvatuṅga) hailed from the Soma-kula; but there is difference of opinion regarding his identity. According to D.C. Sircar, he should be identified with Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti himself.[63] He drew attention to a charter of the ninth year of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti which aims at recording the grant of the village Chandragrāma included in the district (*vishaya*) of Maraḍa in Dakshiṇa Tosali to a Brāhmaṇa inhabitant of the village Silābhañjapāṭī in the Oḍra country.[64] Dakshiṇa Tosali is known to have been included in the Kara kingdom. Silābhañjapāṭī, the residence of the donee,

was obviously founded by or named after one of the Bhañja chiefs named Śīlābhañja,[65] and the granted village Chandragāma and Maraḍa, the headquarters of the district of that name, have been identified with the modern village of Chandgaon, 32 miles north-east of Cuttack, and Barada or Marada Hariharapura in the Cuttack District respectively.[66] Yet another record issued in the fifteenth year of Mahāśivagupta I's reign registers the grant of a village situated in the Gandhaṭapāṭī (or Gandhaḍapāṭī) *maṇḍala* in Kosala.[67] Gandhaṭapāṭī, which, as indicated by its name, was established by or christened after the Bhañja chief Satrubhañja I *alias* Gandhaṭa and is referred to in a few Bhañja records,[68] has been identified with modern Gandharāḍi, some 12 miles from Baud in the Phulbani District of Orissa.[69] Sircar has suggested that these grants evidence Mahāśivagupta I's success against the Bhauma-Karas and the resultant flights of their Bhañja vassals from Dhṛitipura in upper Orissa to Vañjulvaka in the Ganjam region. It is further suggested that the Somakula king helped his daughter Tribhuvanamahādevī in occupying the Kara throne against her rivals, and it must have been in course of this episode that he donated Chandragrāma which formed part of the Kara kingdom. And consequently, the dates of the Baud grants of Tribhuvanamahādevī and the Patna charter of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti, *viz.*, The Bhauma-Kara year 158 and the 9th year of the reign of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti, could not have been separated by any long interval.[70] As for the Bhauma-Kara era, the astronomical information contained in the Daspalla charter of the Bhañja monarch Satrubhañja *alias* Tribhuvanakalaśa issued in the year 198, evidently of this reckoning,[71] has led Sircar to date its epoch in 831 A.D.[72]

The suggestions of Sircar are, however, beset with serious difficulties and anachronisms which cannot be easily brushed aside. The Orissa State Museum plates, which came to light after Sircar's exposition and form the earliest known record of Mahāśivagupta I, for example, purport to grant a village situated in the Gaṇḍitama *vishaya* in the Oḍra country.[73] This shows that coastal Orissa or Dakshiṇa Tosali, which was earlier under the Bhauma-Karas had switched over to the Somavaṁśins in or before the fourth year of his reign. If we were to follow Sircar's line of argument and equate the fourth year of Yayāti's reign with the Bhauma-Kara year 158, we should be landing ourselves in serious anachronism. If, as held by Sircar, this era commenced in A.D. 831 the fourth year of Mahāśivagupta I's reign would fall in about A.D. 989. And if he ruled for some thirty or thirty-five years,[74] as appears almost certain, the close of his reign would have to be dated about A.D. 1015 or 1020. This is, however, well nigh impossible. We know for certain that his son and successor Mahābhavagupta II Bhimaratha and his (Bhimaratha's) sons Mahāśivagupta II Dharmaratha and Indraratha ruled for at least thirteen, eleven and six years respectively.[75] Even if we ignore the reigns of Nahusha and Abhimanyu who, as we have tried to show above, ruled between Mahāśivagupta II Dharmaratha and Indraratha, one would have to concede that

the latter continued to be on the throne at least as late as A.D. 1045 or 1050 which would go against known historical facts. The Choḷa inscriptions inform us that a commander of the Choḷa king Rājendra I had vanquished Indraratha and seized his kingdom by A.D. 1022. But if the equation proposed by Sircar were to be conceded, Bhimaratha, and not Indraratha, must have been the Somakula monarch at the time of the Choḷa incursion.[76] One is, therefore, left with no option but to give up this synchronism. Further, S.N. Rajaguru has shown[77] that the details of the date given in the aforesaid Daspalla grant are also in consonance with 23rd March, A.D. 934,[78] thereby indicating the probability of A.D. 736 being the probable epoch of the Bhauma-Kara era and the resultant equation of the Bhauma-Kara year 158 with A.D. 894. According to Rajaguru, this epoch of the Kara era is supported by the details of the occasion of the grant recorded in the Ganjam plates of Satrubhañja, dated (Bhauma-Kara) year 198.[79] Whatever that be, this epoch appears preferable in the light of known historical facts which it would be difficult, nay impossible, to reconcile with Sircar's epoch. Moreover, the equation of king Svabhāvatuṅga of the Baud and Patna grants with Mahāśivagupta I is not vouched for by the extant evidence. Svabhāvatuṅga is unequivocally described as the lord of Kosala in the two Baud charters, and he is, likewise, credited with the protection of Kosala in the supplement at the end of the Patna grant of Yayāti. We may, therefore, conclude that he was treated primarily as a Kosalan monarch both by his own family members and other contemporary powers. The dominions of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti, on the other hand, included the twin provinces of Kosala and Oḍra almost from the beginning of his reign.[80] The Patna plates of the twenty-eighth year of his reign referring to Siṁhadatta as his minister of peace and war (*Sandhivigrahin*) attached to Kosala[81] should suffice to indicate the provision of separate administrative machinery for these two divisions (Kosala and Oḍra or Utkala) during his reign. It would, thus, follow that the organisation of the Somakula kingdom into the two provinces (*rāshṭras*) explicitly referred to in a couple of inscriptions belonging to some later members of the dynasty[82] had come into being much earlier, *viz.*, about the beginning of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti's reign. In view of this fact Yayāti could not have been justifiably spoken of merely as the king of Kosala as that would have amounted to an understatement of his status by his own daughter and the panegyrist. As against this, his father Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya is clearly referred to as 'lord of Kosala' (Kosalendra) in his own epigraphs,[83] and though we have numerous copper-plate grants of his reign, none of them records any grant in Oḍra or Dakshiṇa Tosali. Secondly, the opening stanza of the supplement avers that Svabhāvatuṅga became king by dint of his own prowess, a statement justifiably applicable only to a chief who was the real founder of the greatness of the family. This is obviously true of only Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya with whom his successors began the dynastic account in their records, apparently because they

took him to be the real founder of family's power. And last but not the least, this equation of Svabhāvatuṅga and Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya is placed on a firm footing by the combined testimony of the Somavaṁsa and Bhauma-Kara records. In the Brahmeśvara temple inscription of the reign of Uddyotakesarin Janamejaya is credited with killing the Odra king with a spear-head in a War.[84] It is pertinent to note in this connection that no other Somakulin monarch is ever said to have interfered in the affairs of Odra. Likewise, no Somakula chief except Svabhāvatuṅga is mentioned in any Bhauma-Kara record. These evidences afforded by two different sources seem to establish the identity of Svabhāvatuṅga and Janamejaya and point to Svabhāvatuṅga-Janamejaya's interference in the internal affairs of the Kara kingdom with the object of securing it for his daughter.[85]

The foregoing discussion would lead us to the conclusion that the Bhauma-Kara era began in A.D. 736 and that its year 158 mentioned in the Baud plates of Pṛithvīmahādevī *alias* Tribhuvanamahādevī II fell in the reign of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya.

The latest known Kara charter purporting to record a grant in Dakshiṇa Tosali is the Kumuranga plate of Daṇḍimahādevī issued in the Bhauma-Kara year 187 or A.D. 923,[86] whereas the Orissa Museum plates of the fourth regnal year of Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti constitute the earliest known Somakula record registering a grant in Oḍra which was formerly controlled by the Bhauma-Karas. Assuming that the fourth year of Yayāti fell about two years subsequent to the date of the Kumuranga grant, *viz.*, in or about the Bhauma-Kara 188-89 or A.D. 924-25, his accession may be tentatively dated around A.D. 920.

The records dated in the eleventh and subsequent years of the reign of the Choḷa emperor Rājendra I (A.D. 1012-1044) mentioning his victory over Indraratha in an engagement at Yayātinagara provide another fixed pint in the chronology of the Somavaṁśins. The Gangetic expedition which resulted, *inter alia*, in the capture of Indraratha by Rājendra's army is referred to for the first time in an inscription of the eleventh year of the Choḷa emperor[87] and described in detail in the Tirumalai inscription of the following year.[88] This episode involving the termination of Indraratha's reign may be dated safely around A.D. 1022. Shortly prior to this event may be dated the success of Paramāra Bhoja[89] against Indraratha which finds mention in the Udaypur stone inscription of Udayāditya.[90]

These fixed points supplemented by the regnal years of Individual monarchs known from their own epigraphs enable us to determine the early chronology of the Somakulins with a fairly good degree of certitude. These sheet anchors apart, we must make some provision for the extension of reigns beyond the latest recorded years as also for the rule of those chiefs whose records have yet to come to light.

We must add at this point that some of the epigraphs of the early members of the family contain a few allusions of a historical nature. Thus, we find mention

of the victory of Svabhāvatuṅga-Janamejaya and his son Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti over a Chedi chief of Ḍāhala,[91] the capture by Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti of thirty-two elephants after defeating a certain Ajapāla,[92] the victory of Mahābhavagupta II Bhimaratha over a king named Rudra,[93] and the success of Mahāśivagupta II Dharmaratha against the Andhra and Gauḍa. Of these, the chiefs named explicitly are not known from any other source and other powers do not admit of identification with any degree of certitude for want of necessary details. And as such, these references are not very pertinent in the present context.

The contemporaniety of Karṇa the last known member of the dynasty, with the Pāla king and Rāmapāla (*c.* A.D. 1077-1120) and the Eastern Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chodagaṅga (A.D. 1078-1147) is the next fixed point in the history of the Somavamśins. We are told by Sandhyākaranandin (*Rāma-charita*, iii. 45) that Rāmapāla favoured the Utkala king, who hailed from the lineage of Bhava's ornament (*i.e.*, the lunar dynasty or Soma-kula) and was defeated by him, and protected the entire world from (the terror of) Kaliṅga by killing those robbers (of that region), which is an obvious reference to Anantavarman Chodagaṅga's soldiers.[95] While commenting on another stanza of the *Rāma-charita* referring to Simha's victory over the Utakala king (11.5), the scholiast informs us that the former was identical with Jayasimha, Rāmapāla's vassal in Daṇḍabhukti, while the latter was no other than Karṇakesarin.[96] Karṇakesarin of the scholium is obviously the same as the last known Somakula chief Karṇa who granted the Sankhameri and Ratnagiri charters in the fourth and sixth years respectively of his reign, while the Kaliṅga monarch from whom Rāmapāla boasts to have saved the whole world is none else than Anantavarman Chodagaṅga who also, according to a few copper-plate charters of his reign, had first defeated and then restored the king of Utkala.[97] In a stanza of his Tumburu plates we are told that he first restored to his kingdom the fallen Utkala king in the east and next did the same with the lord of Veṅgī in the west who served like the *toraṇastambhas* (entrance posts) of victory to which he tied Lakshmī (royal fortune) as if it were a floral wreath (*vandana-mālikā*).[98] In the chinna Badamu plates he claims to have defeated Siṅha also.[99] We may, therefore, conclude that for some time during the earlier part of the rule of Karṇa lower Orissa became a bone of contention between the Eastern Gaṅgas and the Pālas with fluctuating fortunes. Ultimately, however, it was annexed by Anantavarman Chodagaṅga sometime between A.D. 1108 the date of the Mukhalingam plates containing the earliest reference to the restoration of the Utkala king,[100] and A.D. 1114-15 the date of his Bhubaneswar (Liṅgarāja temple)[101] and Puri (Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple)[102] inscriptions. It is not possible to date this event more precisely. From his assumption of the imperial titles in the Ratnagiri plates granted in his sixth regnal year[103] it may be inferred reasonably that Karṇa ruled as a soverign monarch for at least six years. Shortly, thereafter, in or prior to A.D. 1108 when the Mukhalingam plates were granted,

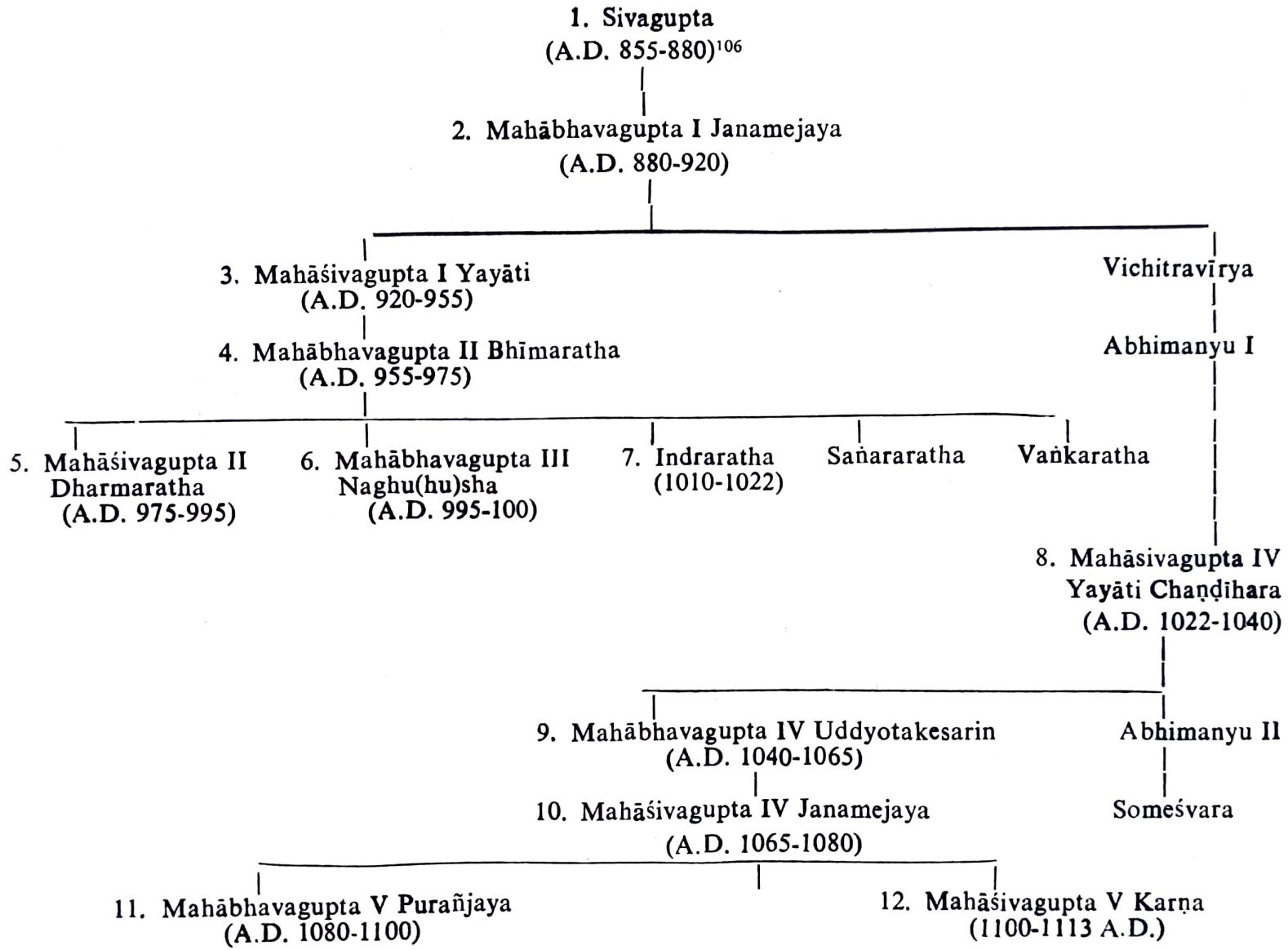
his independent rule must have come to an end and he turned in to a vassal of Antanavarman Chodagaṅga, a position which he held for some time before his final extermination in or before A.D. 1114-15.

If we were to attach any historical value to the tradition recorded in the *Mādalāpañji* that the last Somavaśin chief overthrown by Chodagaṅga was Suvarṇakesarin, we shall have to date the end of Karṇa's reign a littler earlier. However, the Tumburu plates of Chodagaṅga make an explicit reference to his victory over Karṇarāya, undoubtedly the same as our Karṇa, in a battle and the resultant annexation of the Utkala kingdom.[104] This should suffice to indicate the unhistorical character of the *Mādalāpañji* tradition. It is possible, however, that Suvarṇakesarin may have ruled for some time as a small potentate under Choḍagaṅga in a small isolated pocket but was ultimately overthrown by his overlord.

The Somakula rule appears to have terminated about the same time in South Kosala also.[105]

Following the above discussion, we may tentatively reconstruct the genealogy and the order of succession of the Somakulins with their approximate regnal periods as follows.

The chronology given above is the most logical one at the moment but subject to modification, particularly as regards the initial period. If any alteration in this respect becomes necessary, it is likely to take the commencement of Sivagupta' reign a little earlier. Attention may be invited to an important point in this connection. As we have seen above, the Brahmeśvara temple inscription of the time of Uddyotakesarin states that Janamejaya had killed on Odra king with spear in a battle. If this event was in any way connected with the occuption of the Bhauma-Kara throne by his daughter Prithvīmahādevī, it may prove to be of significance for ascertaining his period, As we know from her Baud grants, she came to the throne around the year 158 of the Bhauma-Kara era which commenced in A.D. 736 Thus, this event took place around A.D. 894. Now, Janamejaya's clash with the Odra king is not mentioned in any of his records, the latest one being dated in the thirty-fourth year of his reign. If the non-mention of this event in his inscriptions means that it took place after his latest recorded year, his thirty fourth regnal year would fall prior to A.D. 894 and his accession will have to be antedated by a few years, and the same will be true of the date of accession of his father Sivagupta. But there can be no certainty about this point until more evidence comes to light. Likewise, the lengths of individual reigns indicated above are also subject to modification in the light of the evidence that may come to light in future.


1. Sivagupta
(A.D. 855-880)[106]
2. Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya
(A.D. 880-920)
3. Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti
(A.D. 920-955)
Vichitravīrya
4. Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha
(A.D. 955-975)
Abhimanyu I
5. Mahāśivagupta II
Dharmaratha
(A.D. 975-995)
6. Mahābhavagupta III
Naghu(hu)sha
(A.D. 995-100)
7. Indraratha
(1010-1022)
Saṅararatha
Vaṅkaratha
8. Mahāsivagupta IV
Yayāti Chaṇḍihara
(A.D. 1022-1040)
9. Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyotakesarin
(A.D. 1040-1065)
Abhimanyu II
10. Mahāśivagupta IV Janamejaya
(A.D. 1065-1080)
Someśvara
11. Mahābhavagupta V Purañjaya
(A.D. 1080-1100)
12. Mahāśivagupta V Karṇa
(1100-1113 A.D.)

Notes and References

1. Following the inscriptional evidence, they may also be called Somakalis or preferably Somakulins.
2. S.N. Rajaguru, "Somavaṁśi Kings of Kosala", *New Aspects of the History of Orissa*, ii, (1971), 50.
3. *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, p. 103. J.K. Sahu is bent on attributing to him the Mahakosala Historical Society's plates which are generally assigned to a later member of this name, *viz.* Bhīmaratha or Uddyotakesarin. See *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, XLth Session, 1979, pp. 1117-21.
4. In the Satalma or Nagpur Museum plates of Janamejava alone he is called Mahāśivagupta. *Vide EI*, viii, pp. 138 ff.
5. Unless, of course, he is identified with Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna.
6. Their description is exactly like that the father and son in later copper-plate inscriptions of the family.
7. See *EI*, xi, pp. 93-95; iii, pp. 340-44; *JASB*, New Series, i, pp. 8-12 and 19-23; *IHQ*, xx, pp. 238-44; *EI*, viii, pp. 138-43; xxiii, pp. 248-55; *OHRJ*, xi, pp. 193-97; *EI*, iii, pp. 345-51; *IHQ*, xx, pp. 345-50; *The Journal of Orissa History*, ii, (i), pp. 1-5; and unpublished Degaon plates. The dated inscriptions are listed here as well as subsequently in a chronological order.
8. *EI*, iii, pp. 340-45. We have reference to a *Mahāsandhivigrahin* in a record of the third year (*ibid.*, xi, pp. 93-95) also, but his name is conspicuous by its absence.
9. Malladatta is last mentioned in a record of the thirty-first year (*EI*, iii, pp. 345-51), while the the first reference to his successor, Dhāradatta, is met with in a grant of the thirty-fourth year (*IHQ*, xx, pp. 345-50).
10. The relationship is not specified in any record.
11. While giving numbers to the chiefs named Mahāśivagupta, Śivagupta, father of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, is ignored in keeping with the general practice even though at least in one record (*EI*, viii, pp. 138 ff.) he is also given the *mahat*-beginning name. If he is designated Mahāśivagupta I, which is by no means unwarranted, the numbering will have to be modified slightly. S.N. Rajaguru, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, iv, pp. 159-66;
12. *JASB*, New Series, i, pp. 6-7 and 14-16; *EI*, iii, pp. 351-55; xi, pp. 95-96; *JASB*, New Series, i, pp. 7-8 and 16-18; *ibid.*, pp. 8-12 and 19-23.
13. *EI*, iii, pp. 355-59; iv, pp. 354-58; *SIE* (*JESI*), i, pp. 85-96; *IHQ*, xxxv, pp. 93-108; *JRASB*, Letters, xiii, pp. 64-74; *EI* xxxiii, pp. 263-68; and unpublished Sankhameri plates.
14. *SIE* (*JESI*), i, pp. 85-96.
15. The latest record to mention Dhāradatta is the Patna grant of the twenty-fourth year (*JASB*, New Series, i, pp. 7-8 and 16-18), while Siṁhadatta is first mentioned in the Patna plates of the twenty-eighth year (*ibid.*, 8-12 and 19-23).
16. *EI*, iii, pp. 355-59; iv, pp. 254-58.
17. *SIE* (*JESI*), i, pp. 85-96; *IHQ*, xxxv, pp. 93-108; *JRASB*, Letters, xiii, pp. 63-74; *EI*, xxxiii, pp. 263-68; Sankhameri plates (unpublished).
18. He is mentioned in the Cuttack plates of this year (*EI*, iii, pp. 355ff.)
19. It has been edited by us *SIE* (*JESI*), i, pp. 85-96.
20. *IHQ*, xxxv, pp. 93-108; *JRASB*, Letters, xiii, pp. 63-74; *EI*, xxxiii, pp. 263-68; Sankhameri plates (unpublished).
21. *IHQ*, xxxv, pp. 93-108, verses 6-8.
22. Unpublished.
23. *EI*, xxxiii, pp. 263 ff , verses 6-8.

24. B.K. Rath presented a paper on this plate at the fourth annual conference of the Epigraphical Society of India at Madras in January 1978.
25. *JRASB*, Letters, xiii, pp. 63 ff., verse 7.
26. That Yayāti and Chaṇḍihara were one and the same is conclusively established by the fact that while the copper-plate chapters of Uddyotakesarin and Karṇa credit Yayāti with the feat of freeing the twin provinces of Kosala and Utkala which were overrun by hostile forces, the same achievement is attributed to Chaṇḍihara in Kolāvatī's Brahmeśvara temple inscription without naming the two provinces explicity.
27. *JBBRAS*, Letters, xiii, pp. 63ff., verses 6-8.
28. Verse 7 of the Brahmeśvara temple inscription employed for him the expression *rāja-malla* which, according to some scholars, was his title. One cannot be quite sure on this point, and it is equally, or perhaps more, probable that the word is just a descriptive adjective.
29. No other Janamejaya during the period in question is known.
30. *JAS*, viii, pp. 271-76. K.B. Tripathy's edition of the inscription is an example of utter carelessness, and a better edition is a must if it is to be properly utilised for historical reconstruction. The information given here is based on our understanding of Tripathy's corrupt text.
31. *EI*, ix, pp. 222 ff.; *SII*, i, p. 96.
32. The Banpur plates show awareness of Dharmaratha (Verse 12) but do not refer to him as Indraratha's brother, whereas Vaṅkaratha and Śaṅkararatha, who, like Indraratha himself, were born of Bhīmaratha's queen Durgā, are explicity described as his (Indraratha's) younger brothers. See verses 10-11.
33. *IHQ*, xxii, p. 303. This view is repeated by B.K. Rath (*Journal of the Orissa Reseārch Soci* i (1981), pp. 24-25; *Cultural History of Orissa*, Delhi, 1983, p. 50).
34. *EI*, ix, pp. 229ff.; *SII*, p. 96.
35. *EI*, i, pp. 222ff.
36. These assumptions, which appear at present very probable, may almost certain, may have to be modified only if some evidence to the contrary comes to light in future.
37. For this record, see *JBORS*, ii, pp. 45-59. These plates have been very badly edited, and a careful edition is a great desideratum. Our edition of the inscription on the basis of the illustrations published with B.C. Mazumdar's text is being published elsewhere.
38. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, *EI*, xix-xxiii, Appendix, pp. 215-16 and 403; *AI*, ixi, p. 341. Some scholars seem to have aquiesced in this surmise (vide *EI*, xxiii, p. 249; *IHQ*, xv, p. 364.
39. *IHQ*, xx, pp. 77-79. In view of the occurrence of Mahaśivagupta as the name of the father of Mahābhavagupta I in the latter's Nagpur Museum plates, Sircar's statement that he is nowhere mentioned by this name has to be somewhat modified. We find it difficult to accept Sircar's alternative suggestion (to use Sircar's own words, 'less probable' possibility) that the Makakosala Historical Society's plates (*EI*, xxii, pp. 135-38) belong to Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha (*IHQ*, xx, p. 79), which is followed by S.R. Nema (*Political History of the Somavaṁśī Kings of South Kosala and Orissa*, pp. 170-71), for it would land us into the absurdity of believing that Rudradatta, who rose to the position of *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* during the reign of Bhīmaratha, continued to enjoy the office during the reigns of his successors down to the time of Uddyotakesarin.
40. Those who attribute the Mahakosala Historical Society's plates to the supposed predecessor of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya's father Śivagupta argue that there was an earlier Rudradatta, whom they would prefer to call Rudradatta I (*Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, XLth Session, 1979. pp. 1217-21). But this view is not acceptable to us.
41. Unless we attribute the Mahakosala Historical Society's plates to Śivagupta's supposed father named Mahābhavagupta.

42. *IHQ*, xxxv, pp. 94-108; *EI*, xiii, p. 166, no. XVI; xxii, pp. 135-38; xiii, pp. 165-66; *JRASB*, Letters, xiii, pp. 63-74; and Mahada and Sankhameri plates.
43. *EI*, xxxiii, pp. 363-68; xxviii, pp. 322-26.
44. The Mahada grant, as it is now available, is incomplete, and so we have no knowledge of its executor.
45. *Journal of the Orissa Research Society*, i (1981), pp. 29-33.
46. *EI*, xxviii, pp. 322-26.
47. *Ibid.*, xxxiii, pp. 363-68; *The Journal of Orissa History*, i, pp. 1-5.
48. *EI*, xxxiii, pp. 373-74.
49. *EI*, xxxiii, pp. 264-65.
50. *Ibid.*, xxviii, pp. 322-26.
51. S.N. Rajguru, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, iv, p. 353. Some scholars are inclined to identify him with the brother of the Pāṇḍava king bearing this name. See *JBORS*, xiii, pp. 186-87, However, this date appears to be too early looking to the apparently late palaeographical features. In the absence of dependable evidence one cannot be quite sure about the historical position of the Raṇakesarin in question.
52. *IC*, iii, pp. 122-25; *DHNI*, i, p. 478; *IHQ*, xxii, p. 306; *OHRJ*, i, pp. 296-97.
53. *Ibid.*, i, p. 302 and pl. 53.
54. See *EI*, iii, pp. 232ff., where the historicity of the *Mādalāpanjī* has been subjected to a detailed examination.
55. See Andrew Stirling, *Asiatic Researches*, xv, pp. 254-305 (he dated Yayāti's accession in 473 AD; see p. 264); W.W. Hunter, *Orissa*, ii, pp. 183-91 (he preferred 472 AD for Yayātikesarin's accession); Rangalala Banerjee, *IA*, v, p. 55; *JASB*, xivi, pp. 149ff., Rajendra Lal Mitra, *JPASB*, li, pp. 9-14 (he assigned Yayāti to the period 474-526 AD); Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, xviii, pp. 17, 85 and 87 (he dated Yayati's accession in 475 AD). We have seen elsewhere the impact of these views on the chronology of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins.
56. These inscriptions were first edited by Fleet systematically.
57. *EI.*, iii, p. 333. For a detailed discussion *vide ibid.*, pp. 328-32.
58. *Ibid.*, iv, p. 256.
59. This was the case with regard to the Vākāṭakas and the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins.
60. Keilhorn invited special attention to the form of initial *e* met within the Kudopali plates which, in his opinion, proved most convincingly that this record could not have been written earlier than the first half of the twelfth century AD, See *ibid.*, p. 255. But it has been shown by D.C. Sircar that similar form of this initial vowel is found in the Pāla inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries AD. *Vide IHQ*, xx, p. 81.
61. *EI*, xxix, p. 217, verses 15-17.
62. *JAS, Letters*, xix, pp. 117ff., verses 15-17.
63. *Ibid.*, xix, pp. 117ff., *IHQ*, xxix, p. 155; *EI*, xxix, p. 224; *OHRJ*, i, pp. 290-91: *A History and Culture of the Indian People*; iv: *The Age of Imperial Kanauj* (ed. R.C. Majumdar & A.D. Pusalkar), pp. 148-49.
64. *EI*, iii, pp. 351-55.
65. In the Bhañja family there were more than one chiefs of this name.
66. Binayak Misra, *Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa*, p. 68, no. 9.
67. *EI*, xi, p. 96, text-lines 4-5 and 16-17.
68. Binayak Misra, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-46, nos. 3, 4 and 14.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 45; K.C. Panigrahi, *Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavaṁśis of Orissa*, p. 32.
70. *IHQ*, xxix, p. 155; *OHRJ*, i, p. 291; *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 149,

71. *EI*, xxix, pp. 189-94; *OHRJ*, i, pp. 208-13.
72. *IHQ*, xxix, p. 155; *OHRJ*, i, p. 291, note 1; *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 150, note 51; *EI*, xxix, pp. 191 (note 2) and 224.
73. S.N. Rajaguru, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, iv, pp. 159-66.
74. His latest known regnal year is 28.
75. These are not only or latest recorded years of their respective reigns.
76. In fairness to Sircar it must be pointed out that the records of Dharmaratha and Indraratha were not known at the time when he wrote on the Somavaṁśins.
77. *OHRJ*, i, pp. 209-10.
78. See L.D. Swamikannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeries*, ii, p. 270. These details are in agreement with 21st March, 812 AD also; but it is too late in the present context.
79. *OHRJ*, iv, pp. 67ff.
80. The earliest known record of his reign, as pointed out earlier, records a grant in the Oḍra country.
81. *JASB*, NS, i, pp. 8-12 and 19-23, text line 69 .
82. *IHQ*, xxxv, pp. 93ff., verse 9; S.N. Rajaguru, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, iv, p. 246, verse 8.
83. *EI*, iii, p. 350, text-line 48, verse 16.
84. S N. Rajaguru, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, iv, p. 245, verse 2.
85. In fairness to Sircar it must be added that he did not altogether rule out the possibility that Svabhāvatuṅga was just another name of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya (*JAS, Letters*, xxi, p. 12, though he favoured, very strongly indeed, the former's identification with Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti.

    Rajaguru (*OHRJ*, viii, pp. 101ff.) and Panigrahi (*The Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Samavaṁśins of Orissa*, pp. 2-8) are also in favour of the identification of Svabhāvatuṅga with Janamejaya, but most of their grounds are different and far from convincing.
86. *JBORS*, v, pp. 554-577.
87. No. 476 of 1911. As observed by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri (*The Cholas*, p. 238, note 51), the inscriptions of the tenth year contain no reference to this incident.
88. E. Hultzsch, *SII*, i, pp. 95-99, no. 67.
89. Known dates : AD 1020-1047.
90. *EI*, i, p. 235, verse 19.
91. *JAS, Letters*, xiz, pp. 117-24, verses 15-17. Some scholars see here a reference to the Kalachuri king Yuvarāja; but this reading is untenable.
92. This incident is first mentioned in the Patna plates of Yayāti's 24th year (*JASB*. NS, i, pp. 7-8 and 16-18) and thereafter repeated in his own subsequent records and those of Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha and Mahāśivagupta II Dharmaratha.
93. *Studies in Indian Epigraphy* (*JESI*), i, p. 91, verse 8.
94. *Ibid.*, verse 9.
95. *Bhava-bhūshaṇa-santati-bhuvam = anujagrāha jitaṁ yaḥ, Jagad = avati sma samastaṁ Kaliṅgatas = tān niśā-charān nighnan.*
96. *Siṁha iti Daṇḍabhukti-bhūpatir = adbhuta prabhāv-ākara-Kamala-mukula tulit-Otkaleśa-Kārṇa-kesari-sarid = vallābha-kumbha-sambhavo Jayasiṁhaḥ.*
97. *EA*, iv, pp. 33ff. (Mukhalingam plates, dated Śaka 1030 ; *JAHRS*, i, pp. 106ff., text-lines 102-103 (Korni plates, dated Śaka 1034).
98 *Pūrvvasyāṁ diśi pūrvvam = Utkala patiṁ rājye nidhāya chyutaṁ*
Paśchāt paśchima-dik-taṭe vighaṭitaṁ Veṅgīśam = apy-etayoḥ,
Lakshmīṁ vandana-mālikām = iva jaya-śrī toraṇa-stambhayor =
Bhadhnāti sma samiddha-kīrtti-vibhava-śrī-Gaṅga-chūḍā-maṇiḥ.

    Bhāratī (Telugu), 1968, pp. 2ff.

    Choḍagaṅga's restoration of the Utkala and Veṅgī kings is referred to in several inscriptions.

99. *EA*, ii, pp. 56ff. These plates were issued in Śaka 1062, only a few years prior to the close of his reign.
100. *Ibid.*, iv, pp. 33ff. Earlier this reference was known to occur for the first time in the Korni plates dated Śaka AD 1034 or AD 1112, and the termination of the Somakula rule was accordingly dated between AD 1112 and 1114-15.
101. *EI*, xxx, pp. 31-32. Vide also *OHRJ*, i (ii), pp. 1ff.
102. *EI*, xxxiii, pp. 184-85. Several later inscriptions including the unpublished Yembaram grant of Śaka 1039 speak of Choḍagaṅga as exercising control over the whole of Utkala. For the Visakhapatnam plates of Śaka 1040 making this claim, see *IA*, xxiii, pp. 166ff.
103. *EI*, xxxiii, pp. 263-74.
104. *Bhāratī* (Telugu), 1968, pp. 2ff.
105. Panigrahi (*op. cit.*, p. 16) finds in the Lalāṭendukesarī cave inscriptions of the time of Uddyotakesarin reference to the date 549 which, according to him, is referable to the Gaṅga era. He dates the epoch of the Gaṅga era in AD 496 and accordingly takes the year read by him to be equivalent to AD 1015. This is, however, extremely doubtful. According to Debala Mitra, the Ratnagīri plates of Karṇa contain a veiled allusion to the success of Janamejaya II against the Chhindaka-Nāgas of Bastar (*EI*, xxxiii, p. 265) which may have some bearing on the vicissitudes of the Somavaṁśin in South Kosala. However, the vagueness of the evidence does not warrant any definite conclusion on this point.
106 The dates mentioned in brackets are only approximate.

16

REGAL TITULATURE AND NOMENCLATURE IN SOUTH KOSALA
(From Fifth to Twelfth Century AD)

One very interesting feature of the history of South Kosala ever since it emerged as an independent political unit about the close of the fifth or the beginning of the following century A.D. was the adoption of names, both personal and regal, following a particular pattern which developed in stages. It is characterised by a rare continuity of tradition which continued to be adhered to notwithstanding the change of political authority. This was a closed tradition typical of South Kosala and spread to the adjacent province of Orissa only with the shifting of the political authority of Kosala to this area. It died out with the collapse of the Kosalan power early in the twelfth century A.D.

The rule of the Śarabhapurīyas, Pāṇḍuvaṁśins and Somavaṁśins spanning about seven centuries from the closing quarter of the fifth century to about the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. constitutes a chapter of abiding interest in the history of South Kosala which comprised the Chhattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh and the adjoining tract of Orissa. This long period was marked by a rather rare continuity of traditions which continued to be adhered to even during the later phase of the early mediaeval period when the Somavaṁśins (or Somakulins as they are called in their fairly numerous inscriptions), who were primarily a Kosalan dynasty, turned almost into an Orissan power for all practical purposes. Consequently the traditions which had originated and developed in Kosala penetrated deep into Orissa and continued to be followed religiously in the midst of ruling families with quite different practices and traditions. This is best illustrated by a study of the nomenclature and titulature obtaining in the successive dynasties of the region. This is not to aver that there were no changes at all and everything was static during all these centuries which is totally against the operation of historical process. But the practices once formed and standardised continued to operate with such alterations and innovations as were introduced from time to time.

The credit of initiating some of the basic traditions in this matter which

continued to be respected all through the period in question is due to the Śarabhapuriya chiefs. We do not find anything worth mentioning in so far as the first two members of the dynasty are concerned. Their names, met with in their own records or in those of their successors, do not reveal any pattern. The earliest member of the family whose records have come down to us is Narendra who, according to his own epigraphs.[1] was son of Śarabha who is generally identified with the homonymous maternal grandfather of Goparāja who breathed his last in a sanguinary battle at Eran.[2] The next known chief was Prasannamātra who is mentioned by this name in the legend of his fairly numerous repousse coins and simply as Prasanna in the inscription on the seals attached to the copper-plates of his descendants. Obviously Prasanna was his real name, and *mātra* ending was added to it as a suffix or honorific, its exact significance being unascertainable at present. It is likely that *mātra* was intended to be added to the names of his successors also as may be surmised from the fact that one of his sons, probably younger, was also given a *mātra*-ending name, Mānamātra, which is mentioned in the seal-inscriptions of his sons Sudevarāja and Pravararāja. This practice did not, however, become popular and was given up in the very next generation unless it is supposed that Sudevarāja and Pravararāja, too, had *mātra*-ending names though the same are not met with in their inscriptions. There is, however, nothing impossible about it as, it may be argued that, the name Mānamātra also is met with only in the seal inscriptions of his sons and that similar *mātra*-ending names employed by Mānamātra's two sons may have been given in the seal-inscriptions of their sons, if any. But we have nothing to support this conjecture at the moment. As will be seen in the sequel, in the case of Prasannamātra's younger son, Mānamātra was obviously the personal name whereas the other name found in the text of the inscription on the plates themselves was in all probability a secondary name or title assumed at the time of coronation.

A very important development with far-reaching effects in this matter took place during the reign of Jayarāja, probably the elder son of Prasanna mātra. In all his inscriptions without a single exception he is mentioned with the word *mahat* prefixed to his name, *viz.*, Mahā-Jayarāja. This form of the name is met with for the first time in his Angura plates which were granted in the third year of his reign. This being the earliest record of his reign, it may be reasonably concluded that he had been using this name from the very beginning of his rule. As the word *mahat* is not known to have been prefixed to the names of the earlier members of the dynasty, the credit of initiating this practice is evidently due to him. We may, therefore, postulate, without any possibility of contradiction, that the *mahat*-beginning name was assumed by him at the time of his coronation, *i.e.*, it was a coronation name. That the word *mahat* was not actually an integral part of the name is vouched for by the fact that it is not found in the metrical seal-inscriptions which mention him simply as Jayarāja. Narendra's inscriptions mention him

not only without a prefix, but also without any suffix. It is thus obvious that the practice of adding the suffix *rāja* to the name was also introduced by Jayarāja, and while the prefix, *mahat*, is conspicuous by its absence in the seal-inscriptions, the suffix, *rāja*, is found employed invariably. Thus the full coronation name included both the prefix *mahat* and the suffix *rāja*. Once this practice of adopting coronation names with these two elements was introduced by Jayarāja, it was followed by all his successors in the dynasty who are mentioned as Mahā-Durgarāja, Mahā-Sudevarāja and Mahā-Pravararāja in the text of their copper-plate inscriptions. It is generally believed that the middle components of these names, to wit, Jaya, Durga, Sudeva and Pravara, were the real personal names of these chiefs. However, in the absence of necessary evidence it is difficult to say anything definitely on this point, and it is not impossible that the entire name beginning with *mahat* and ending with *rāja* was really the coronation name, the original or personal names given by the parents being unknown in most cases. This supposition gains some support from the fact that Mahā-Jayarāja's younger brother and successor, Mahā-Durgarāja, had another name, *viz.*, Mānamātra, which was, in all likelihood, his personal name.

It may be mentioned in this connection that though the ancient texts dealing with the coronation ceremony are reticent regarding the adoption of coronation names (*abhisheka-nāma*) by the monarchs undergoing this ceremony, inscriptional evidence indicates that such a practice was prevalent at least in some parts of the country as well as among certain ruling families of Indian origin in South-East Asia.[4] Thus the Pallava king Rājasiṁha had Narasimhavarman for his coronation name, and Parameśvara *alias* Pallavamalla ascended the throne under the name Nandivarman.[5] The custom of assuming *abhisheka-nāma* was in vogue in the Indian kingdom of Champa also. For instance, Rudravarman's son Praśastadharman adopted Śambhuvarman as his coronation name, and on Prakāśadharman was conferred the *abhisheka-nāma* or title Śrīvikrāntavarman.[6] We have suggested elsewhere[7] that the Vākāṭakas also had the custom of adopting *abhisheka-nāma* and that the *sena*-ending names borne by them were in all probability coronation names. In South Kosala this custom was first initiated by the Śarabhapurīyas, and once this family adopted and popularised this practice, it crystallised into a tradition which was followed by the succeeding ruling families for centuries.

If the ascription of the Mallar plates of Vyāghrarāja to the Śarabhapurīyas were to be accepted, one would have to concede that the practice of repeating the names within the family was prevalent, though to a very limited extent, among the Śarabhapura monarchs. But, as we have shown elsewhere,[8] there is no evidence to identify the Amarārya-kula mentioned in Vyāghrarāja's grant with the Śarabhapurīyas.

II

The Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā or the Amarkantak region are known to have made themselves masters of at least the Mallar region of Kosala during the rule of the last known member of the dynasty, *viz.*, Śūrabala *alias* Udīrṇavaira.[9] The only ostensibly interesting feature of their naming pattern is the use of the word *bala* at the end of their names, and all the names with the solitary exception of that of the second member, to wit, Votsorāja, terminate in *bala*. This name-ending has sometimes been cited as a missing link connecting the Pāṇḍava dynasty of Mekalā with *Mahāsenāpati* Bhadrabala known from a Bandhogarh inscription of his son *Rājan* Vaiśravana.[10] But as pointed out elsewhere, the correct reading of the name is Bhadrabāla,[11] not Bhadrabala, and a considerably long Period of time separates him from the Pāṇḍava monarchs. The *bala* ending does not seem to have left much impact on the naming pattern of Kosala, and the only *bala*-ending name met with later in this region is Indrabala which is known to have been borne by one of the sons of the Pāṇḍava king Udayana.[12] The latest known ruler of this family, Śūrabala, whose records are our only source of information about him and his ancestors, bore the biruda Udīrṇavaira. Whether his ancestors also bore such titles cannot be ascertained in the absence of their records. Likewise we do not know if *bala*-ending names were really coronation names, though such a possibility cannot be altogether ruled out.

III

The Pāṇḍuvaṁśins af the line of Udayana carried forward the traditions set up by the Śarabhapurīyas and added some new features of far-reaching importance. We have no copper-plate charters of the early members of the dynasty with the result that it is difficult to determine if they bore names beginning with the word *mahat*. But there is reason to believe that such was actually the case; for, all the three members of the family whose official records have come down to us, *i.e.*, Tivaradeva, Nanna II and Śivagupta Bālārjuna, are known to have assumed such names. They are referred to as Mahāśiva, Mahānannarāja and Mahāśivagupta respectively. Chandragupta and Harshagupta, who intervened between Nanna II and Śivagupta Bālārjuna, must have evidently borne similar names though their official records are yet to be discovered. We have at least a couple of cases where it is beyond doubt that the *mahat*-beginning names were coronation or regal names different from the personal names which are also known from inscriptions. Thus Tivara or Tivaradeva was the personal name of Mahāśiva and Bālārjuna or Śivagupta of Mahāśivāgupta. Both Tivaradeva and Śivagupta are found on their seal-inscriptions. If Śivagupta was the personal name, it would follow that only the word *mahat* was prefixed to it in order to turn it into the official name. But it is difficult to say if on the same analogy Śiva bereft of *mahat* was also the personal

name of Tivaradeva. If such was actually the case, it would appear that these chiefs had more than one names, one given by the parents and the other assumed as another name or *viruda* at a later stage. But it appears more reasonable to take Tivaradeva and Bālārjuna as personal names and others as official names. Tivaradeva's son Mahānannarāja or Nannarāja II is known to us from his solitary Aḍhabhāra grant[13] as well as from a stone inscription of the time of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna found at Senkapat in the Raipur District.[14] Since his only official record has been left incomplete and the seal intended to be affixed to it is missing, we are left with no means to ascertain if his original name was different from Mahānannarāja which was undoubtedly a coronation name. It is not impossible that in fact Nanna was his personal name which was transformed into his official name by prefixing *mahat* and suffixing *rāja*. Let us hope that future epigraphical finds will shed some light on this question.

Let us now advert to a few innovations introduced by the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins. The most important contribution from this point of view was the introduction of *gupta*-ending coronation names by Chandragupta, an uncle and successor of Nannarāja II. Once this practice was introduced, it was scrupulously adhered to not only by all the succeeding monarchs of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa but also by its later descendants, *viz.*, the Somakula chiefs of Kosala and Orissa even after they had turned into a purely Orissan power. It is instructive to note in this connection that prior to Chandragupta we do not get even one name ending in *Gupta* among the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins. It is difficult to ascertain the motivation underlying the adoption of this altogether new termination which had such a far-reaching impact on the history of the dynasty for almost four centuries.

Another noteworthy feature was repetition of names. It will be noticed that among the Śarabhapurīyas, from whom the early Somavaṁśins inherited certain traditions, we fail to find a single instance of the repetition of names. But we find some evidence of this practice, which was destined to become highly popular in later times, among the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins. The name Nanna, for example, is met with twice, and so is Raṇakesarin which was used as a title by Bhavadeva, a grandson of Udayana, and was also the name of a younger brother of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna. We must also mention in this connection Mahāśiva which was employed as a coronation name by Tivaradeva and formed the first part of the coronation name of Bālārjuna. It is sometimes said that in India a grandson is often named after his grandfather. In respect of Pāṇḍuvaṁśins this axiom is applicable to only one name, *viz.*, Nanna, which was borne by Tivaradeva's father and son. This practice had thus come into vogue but was yet to attain popularity.

According to the Orissan temple chronicles called *Mādalāpañjī*, the Somavaṁśa was known as the Kesarī dynasty, and Yayāti (*i.e.*, Mahāśivagupta Yayāti) is styled

Yayātikesarī. Inscriptions supply us only one *kesarin*-ending name, *viz.* Uddyotakesarin, while the commentary on Sandhyākaranandin's *Rāmapāla-charita* mentions Mahāśivagupta V Karṇa by the name Karṇa-kesarin. It would thus follow that the *Mādalāpañjī* tradition is not totally without foundation, and it is possible that like Karṇa some other ruling chiefs of the dynasty may also have been known by *kesarin*-ending names, *i.e.*, the word *kesarin* might have been employed at the end of their recorded names. The beginnings of this tradition were obviously laid during the period of Pāṇḍuvaṁśin rule as would follow from the employment of *kesarin* ending by two members of this family, to wit, (i) Bhavadeva, grandson of Udayana, who is said to have assumed the title of Raṇakesarin, and (ii) Ranakesarin, younger brother of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna.

Another point deserving notice is the use of Bhava and Śiva as first part of the name as in Bhavadeva and Śivagupta (or Mahāśivagupta) and Mahāśiva Tivaradeva. In later times these two words played an important role in the formation of coronation names of the Somavaṁśins who bore official names with these words forming the middle part in alternative reigns.

The names of Śarabhapurīyas barring only that of Sudevarāja had no religious bearing. But in the Pāṇḍava dynasty, which carried forward some of the traditions in the matter of nomenclature set up by the Śarabhapurīyas, we come across a number of names with religious, rather sectarian import, and all but one, such names are affiliated to Śaivism. They include Īśnadeva, Bhavadeva, Mahāśiva or Mahāśivagupta and Śivanandin. The only obvious exception is Indrabala which draws upon Indra cult. Another likely exception may be Nanna which may stand for the mythical serpent Ananta. It is interesting to note that all the official names of the later Somavaṁśa drew upon Śaivism in keeping with the family religion.

IV

The later Somavaṁśins continued some of the practices introduced by the earlier ruling powers of the region and introduced certain innovations themselves. Some of the earlier practices now got firmly established and crystallised into traditions. The custom of adopting coronation names, which we have noticed earlier, is now beyond doubt. These names, as among the early Somavaṁśins or at least the later ones among them, began with the word *mahat* and ended in *Gupta*. And we have only two such names borne by the members of this dynasty, *viz.*, Mahāśivagupta and Mahābhavagupta, and the extant evidence leaves no doubt that these names were taken in alternate reigns. Moreover, in addition to these names, which may be termed official names or epithets adopted at the time of coronation, each king had another name which was obviously personal. Thus, Mahābhavagupta I, Mahāśivagupta II, Mahābhavagupta II, Mahābhavagupta III, Mahāśivagupta III, Mahābhavagupta IV, Mahasivagupta IV, Mahābhavagupta V and Mahāśivagupta V

had Janamejaya, Yayāti, Bhīmaratha, Dharmaratha, Naghusha or Nahusha, Yayāti and Chaṇḍihara. Uddyotakesarin, Janamejaya, Purañjaya and Karṇa for their personal names.

While the coronation names were repeated in every alternate reign, repetition of personal names was extremely rare; only a couple of names, *viz.*, Janamejaya and Yayāṭī, are found repeated just once, probably because the earlier homonymous rulers happened to be great celebrities.

It would be seen that Bhava and Śiva form the most important components of the coronation names and apparently allude to the family faith, *i.e.*, Śaivism, and with the *gupta* ending mean 'one protected by Bhava' and 'one protected by Śiva' respectively. As pointed out earlier, Bhava and Śiva are known to have formed constituents of a few names among the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins also, and even the official name or epithet Mahāśivagupta was not unknown. But the faithful repetition of Mahāśivagupta and Mahābhavagupta appears to have been deliberate and purposive. Śaivism was apparently the most popular faith in the area and period in question, and we have reason to believe that it enjoyed popularity even among the tribals who were being brought within the Brahmanical fold and formed bulk of the population under the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins and later Somavaṁśins. The names or epithets in question, which amounted to an attempt at claiming for themselves a divine status or a position specially favoured by the most popular divinity, were apparently aimed at invoking divine aid for ensuring unquestioned obedience of the faithful masses. They must have supplemented the efforts of the Brāhmaṇas whose activities were directed towards the same end.

If one peruses the list of personal names of these ruling potentates, one would not but be impressed with the popularity of *ratha*-ending names, *e.g.*, Bhīmaratha, Dharmaratha, Indraratha, Śaṅkararatha and Vaṅkaratha, during the earlier phase of the Somakulin rule. The genesis of adopting these names and the reason for their going out of vogue in later times do not admit of any satisfactory explanation. It may, however, be mentioned that Ratha is even now a popular surname in Orissa, and the names in question carry back its antiquity by more than a thousand years.

Yet another point of interest is the preponderance of names drawn from the Epics and the Purāṇas such as Janamejaya, Yayāti, Nahusha, Abhimanyu, Purañjaya and Karṇa, which is indicative of the great popularity of the Epic and Puranic traditions and the high esteem in which the Epic figures were held during the mediaeval period.

We have also an example of the same person bearing more than one personal names, to wit, Mahāśivagupta III who was known both as Yayāti and Chaṇḍihara. It is likely that one of these was a secondary name.

V

Attention may now be invited to titles which do not indicate any pattern. The last known member of the Pāṇḍava dynasty of Mekalā, Śūrabala, was also known as Udīrṇavaira, 'one of impetuous hostility' (obviously towards his foes), which is employed almost as a name in the introductory portion of his Mallar plates. However, as indicated by its descriptive nature, it was undoubtedly a *viruda*.

Likewise, Raṇakesarin, 'a lion in battle', was a *viruda* of the Pāṇḍava chief Bhavadeva though in later times it came to be employed as a proper name.[16] According to a stanza (20) met with in the Arang inscription[17] of Nannarāja I, this title was assumed by him as he destroyed the maddened elephants of his foes by his sword in the battle-field even as a lion does by pouncing upon the elephant with his paws. In verse 28 of this inscription we find mention of another *viruda*, *Achintya-vaiśika*, 'disdainful of whores', for him, which looks somewhat strange. Yet another title (*ākhyā*) adopted by him was *Chintā-durga* which, according to verse 32, was due to his being a source of worry (*chintā*) to his enemies and himself being unassailable (*durga*) in battle by warriors. It is possible that Adhikāra-dhavala, 'shining with regal power', was a style of Chandragupta.[18]

We have comparatively much less information about the titles borne by the Somakulin chiefs. Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya had for him the title Dharma-kandarpa which probably meant 'inflamer of virtue' or 'loving virtue'. He also appears to have been styled Svabhāva-tuṅga, 'high by nature' or 'of high disposition'. Mahāśivagupta II Dharmaratha took to himself the title Rāja-malla, 'wrestler among the kings', as we learn from the Brahmeśvara temple (Bhubaneswar) inscription of the time of Uddyotakesarin.[19]

To sum up

(i) The names of the early members of the Śarabhapura dynasty do not indicate any pattern.

(ii) *Mātra*-ending personal names appear to have enjoyed some popularity among the Śarabhapurīyas.

(iii) Jayarāja started the practice of assuming coronation names (or regal epithets) beginning with *mahat* and ending in *rāja*, and this custom was followed by all his successors scrupulously. Possibly they had personal names in addition to these official names.

(iv) Barring a single exception, the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā had *bala*-ending names. Whether these were coronation names cannot be definitely ascertained.

(v) Chandragupta initiated the practice of suffixing *gupta* to the coronation names, and from him onward the custom of adopting *mahat*-beginning and *gupta*-ending coronation names became universal among his descendants. That these

coronation names were distinct from personal names are vouched for by the fact that in all cases where completed copper-plate grants are extant the issuer is known to have borne another name which was his personal name.

(vi) *Bhava* and *Śiva*, which played a very significant role in the formation of coronation names among the later Somavaṁśins, are sparingly met with among the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins, and even the name Mahāśivagupta is known to have been borne by Harshagupta's son and successor. The same name bereft of *gupta* was borne by his distant ancestor Tīvaradeva.

(vii) Repetition of personal/coronation names is noticed among the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins rarely, and we have only one instance of the grandson being named after the grandfather.

(viii) The practice of assuming names terminating with the word *kesarin*, which played a vital role in dynastic and personal nomenclature among the Somakulins, had its origin among their ancestors, the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins, amongst whom we come across two personages bearing the name/epithet Raṇakesarin.

(ix) So far as South Kosala is concerned, the popularity of names bespeaking religious/sectarian affiliation of the bearers of names is first noticed among the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins.

(x) The Somakulins assumed Mahābhavagupta and Mahāśivagupta as coronation names/regal epithets, which were distinct from personal names, in alternate reigns. The adoption of such names/epithets was probably aimed at ensuring complete obedience of the subjects including a large chunk of tribal population.

(xi) Some of the early members of the Somakula are known to have borne *ratha*-ending names which obviously mark the origin of the surname Ratha which is so common in Orissa.

(xii) Names drawn from the Epics and Purāṇas enjoyed great popularity indicating the esteem in which this class of literature and its characters were held during this period.

(xiii) Repetition of personal names was an extremely rare phenomenon, there being only two such instances.

(xiv) We have only a single example of a person having more than one personal name.

(xv) The *virudas* assumed by the Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā and the early and later Somavaṁśins do not reveal any pattern and are of a eulogistic character.

Notes and References

1. Three copper-plate grants of Narendra have been reported from Pipardula, Kurud and Rawan in the Raipur District. Of the last grant, only a single plate has been found.
2. Surprisingly this commonly accepted identification was sought to be disputed by V.V. Mirashi (*JESI*, vi, pp, 1-4; *Indological Research Papers*, 1 Nagpur, 1982, pp. 187-88) who himself had favoured this identification earlier (*EI*, xxii, p. 17; *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 249-50).
3. Otherwise it would not have been mentioned in the seal-inscriptions of his successors.
4. P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, iii, p. 82.
5. C. Minakshi, *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, p. 49.
6. R.C. Majumdar, *Champa*, p. 157 and Sanskrit Inscriptions Nos. 7 and 12.
7. In my K.S. Haridas Bhatt Endowment Lecture on 'Personal and Place-Names in Vākāṭaka Inscriptions' delivered at the annual conference of the Place-Names Society of India at the Nagarjuna University on 3.1.1985.
8. *JESI*, ix, pp. 40-47.
9. This is known from the Mallar plates of this ruler. See *Studies in Indian Epigraphy* (*JESI*), iii, pp. 183-93.
10. V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, i, pp. 231f.
11. See *EI*, xxxi, pp. 185-86, nos. xviii and xix and plate facing p. 186.
12. The *Sarvādhikārādhikṛita Mahāsāmanta* of the Śarabhapurīya chief Sudevarāja also had the same name. Whether the two were identical cannot be determined for want of necessary evidence.
13. *EI*, xxxi, pp. 219-22.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-36.
15. *Cf.* Nannanārāyaṇa (for Anantanārāyaṇa) mentioned in the Halimpur plate of Dharmapāla (R.B. Pandey, *Historical and Literary Inscriptions*, Varanasi, 1962, p. 221, line 50).
16. It was, according to the Sirpur Lakshmaṇa temple inscription, the name of a younger brother of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna. See *EI*, xi, p, 191, verse 12.
17. There is controversy about the exact findspot of this record; but the extant evidence appears to be in favour of Arang (Raipur District).
18. *Ibid.*, p. 190, verse 6 and p. 194, fn. 3.
19. *JRASB*, Letters, xiii, pp. 63ff., verse 6. But this could as well have been only a descriptive adjective, not a title.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. ORIGINAL SOURCES

1. Sanskrit, Prakrit, Marathi Texts

Ashṭasāhasrikāpra jñāpāramitā Engl. tr. by E. Conze, Calcutta, 1958.

Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 5th impression, Gita Press Gorakhpur, V.S. 2021.

Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa,Venkatesvara Press, Bombay, 1913.

Dīrha Nikāya, Ed. by T.W. Rhys Davids and J.E. Carpenter, 3 Vols., PTS, London, 1890, 1903, 1911.

Dīpavaṁsa, edited and translated into English by H. Oldenberg, London, 1879.

Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa, Ed. by A.C. Taylor, PTS, London, 1894. Engl. tr. under the title *Points of Controversy or Subjects of Discourse* by S.J. Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids, PTS, London, 1915.

Mahābhārata, with Nilakantha's commentary, Chitrashala Press, Poona, 1929-33; Critical Edition, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1927-66; Gita Press Edition, Gorakhpur, V.S. 2015.

Mahāvaṁsa, Ed. by W. Geiger, PTS, London, 1908. Engl. tr. under the title *The Great Chronicle of Ceylon* by W. Geiger with the assistance of Mabel H. Bode, London, 1912.

Mahāvastu, Ed. by E. Senart, Paris, 1882-97.

Majjhima Nikāya, Ed. by V. Trenckner and R. Chalmers, PTS, London, 1888-1902. Engl. tr. by R. Chalmers, 2 Vols., SBB, London, 1926-27.

Matsya Purāṇa, Anandashram Sanskrit Series, Poona, 1907.

Sutta Nipāta, Ed. by D. Anderson and H. Smith, PTS, London, 1913. Text and Engl. tr. by R. Chalmers, Harvard Oriental Series, Cambridge, Mass, 1932.

Vāyu Purāṇa, Anandashram Sanskrit Series, Poona, 1905.

Vinaya Piṭaka, Ed. by H. Oldenberg, PTS, London, 1879-83, Engl. tr. by T.W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, SBE, Oxford, 1881-85.

Vishṇu Purāṇa, text with Hindi translation, Gita Press Gorakhpur, V.S. 2009. Engl. tr. by H.H. Wilson, 5 vols., London, 1864-70.

Amarasiṁha, *Amarakośa*, with Rāmāśramī commentary, Nirnay Sagar Press, Bombay, 1944.

Ananta, *Vīra-charita*

Bālachandra, *Vasantavilāsa-Mahākāvya*, Baroda, 1917.

Bāṇa, *Harsha-charita*, with Śaṅkara's commentary, Bombay Sanskrit Series, Bombay, 1909.

——, *Kādambarī* with the commentary of Banuchandra and Siddhachandra, 9th ed., Nirnay Sagar Press, Bombay, 1948.

Hemachandra, *Abhīdhāna-chintāmaṇi*, Bhavanagar, Vira Era 2441.

Hemādri, *Chaturvarga-chintāmāṇi*, Ed. by Bharatachandra Siromani, BI, Calcutta, 1873-1911.

Jayasiṁha Sūri, *Hammīra-mada-mardana*, Ed. by C.D. Dalal, GOS, Baroda, 1920.

Jalhaṇa, *Sūkti-muktāvali*, Ed. by E. Krishnamacharya, GOS, Baroda, 1938.

Jinaprabhasūri, *Kalpa-pradīpa* or *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa*, Singhi Jain Series, No. 107, Santiniketan, 1934.

Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, text edited by R.P. Kangle, Bombay, 1960; Engl. tr. by R.P. Kangle, Bombay, 1963.

Kshemendra, *Bṛihat-kathā-mañjarī*, Ed., by Śivadatta and K.P. Parab, 2nd ed., Bombay, 1931.

Mahīndrabhaṭṭa, *Govindaprabhū Charitra*, Ed. by V.B. Kolte, Buldhana, 1960.

——, *Līḷā Charitra*, Ed. by H.N. Nene, Nagpur, Ś. 1873; V.B. Kolte, Bombay, 1978.

Rājaśekhara, *Viddha-Śālabhañjikā*, Ed. by J.B. Chaudhuri with the Chamatkara-taraṅginī and Prāṇapratishṭhā commentaries, Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 10, Calcutta, 1943.

Sandhyākaranandin, *Rāma-charita*, Ed. by R.C. Majumdar and others, Rajshahi, 1939.

Somadeva, *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*, Ed. by Durga Prasad and K.P. Parab, 4th ed., Bombay, 1930; Engl. tr. by H.C. Tawney and Introductory Notes, etc. by N.M. Penzer, 10 Vols., London, 1924-28.

Sameśwara, *Kīrti-kaumudī*, Ed. by A.V. Kathavate, BSS, Bombay, 1931.

Vākpati, *Gauḍa-vaho*, Ed. by S.P. Pandit and re-edited by N.B. Utgikar, BSS, No. XXXIV, Poona, 1927.

II. Inscriptions

Bhandarkar, D.R., *List of Inscriptions of Northern India in Brāhmī and its Derivative Scripts, from about 200 A.C.*, Appendix to *EI*, XIX-XXIII.

——, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings*, *CII*, iii, Ed. by B. Ch. Chhabra and G.S. Gai, Delhi, 1981.

Fleet, J.F., *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors*, *CII*, iii, Calcutta, 1888; Indian reprint with Notes and a Bibliography by A.K. Narain, Varanasi, 1970.

Hira Lal, *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, 2nd revised ed., Nagpur, 1932.

Jain, B.C., *Mahanta Ghāsīdāsa Saṁgrahālaya : Purātattva Upavibhāga meṁ Saṁgṛihīta Vastuōm kā Sūchīpatra*, Part IV : *Utkīrṇa Lekha*, Raipur, 1961.

Lüders, H., *A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the Earliest Time to about A.D. 400 with the exception of those of Aśoka*, *EI*, X, Appendix.

Mirashi, V.V., *Inscriptions of the Calachuri-Chedi Era*, *CII*, iv, Ootacamund, 1955.

——. *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas*, *CII*, v, Ootacamund, 1963.

——, *Literary and Historical Studies in Indology*, Delhi, 1975.

Rajaguru, S.N., *Inscriptions of Orissa*, iv, Bhubaneswar, 1966.

Sircar, D.C., *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, I, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1965; Vol. II, Delhi, 1983.

Tulpule, S.G., *Prāchīna Marāṭhī Korīva Lekha*, Poona, 1963.

III. Numismatics

Allan, J., *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum : Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, London, 1936. British Museum Reprint, London, 1967.

——, *A Catalogue of The Indian Coins in the British Museum : Catalogue of the Coins of tha Gupta Dynasties and of Saśāṅka, King of Gauḍa*, London, 1914. British Museum Reprint, London, 1967.

Altekar, A.S., *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire* (*Corpus of Indian Coins*, iv), Varanasi, 1957.

Rapson, E.J., *A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum : Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the "Bodhi" Dynasty*, London, 1908. British Museum Reprint, London, 1967.

Smith, V.A., *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, i, Oxford, 1906.

IV. Foreign Sources

Beal, S., *Si-yu-ki or Buddhist Records of the Western World*, 2 Vols., London, 1906, Indian Reprint, Delhi, 1965.

Giles, H.A., *The Travels of Fa-hsien or Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms*, Cambridge, 1923.

Sachau, E., *Alberuni's India*, 2 Vols., London, 1910.

Schoff, W.H., *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, London, 1912.

Watters, T., *On Yuang Chwang's Travels in India*, 2 Vols., London, 1904-05.

B. MODERN WORKS

Agrawal, Jagannath, *Researches in Indian Epigraphy and Numismatics*, Delhi, 1986.

Agrawala, V.S., *Matsya Purāṇa—A Study*, Varanasi, 1963.

Ayyangar, S.K., *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Madras, 1919.

Bajpai, K.D., *Indian Numismatic Studies*, Delhi, 1976.

Bajpai, K.D. and Pandey, S.K., *Malhar 1975-77*, Sagar, 1978.

Banerjea, J.N., *Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1956.

Banerji, R.D., *History of Orissa*. i, Calcutta, 1930.

Basham, A.L., (Ed.), *Papers on the Date of Kaniṣka*, Canberra.

Bhandarkar, R.G., *Early History of Deccan, Collected Works of Sir R.G. Bhandarkar*, iii, Poona, 1927.

Bühler, G., *Indian Palaeography*, Indian Reprint, Calcutta, 1959.

Burgess, Jas., *Notes on the Amaravati Stupa*, Madras, 1882.

——, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jagayyapeta, ASSI*, London, 1887.

Chattopadhyaya, S., *Early History of Northern India*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1968,

Deo, S.B., *Mahurjhari Excavation*, Nagpur, 1973.

Deo, S.B. (Ed.), *Archaeological Congress and Seminar Papers*, Nagpur, 1972.

Deo, S.B. and Dhavalikar, M.K., *Paunar Excavation*, Nagpur, 1968.

Deo, S.B. and Gupte, R.S. (Eds.), *Excavations at Bhokardan*, Nagpur-Aurangabad, 1973.

Deo, S.B. and Joshi, J.P. (Eds.), *Pauni Excavation*, Nagpur, 1972.

Deshpande, G.T., Shastri, Ajay Mitra and Karambelkar, V.W. (Eds.), *Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume*, Nagpur, 1965.

Dutt, Nalinaksha, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, 2 Vols., Calcutta, 1941.

——, *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its Relation to Hīnayāna*, London, 1930.

Gopalachari, K., *Early History of the Andhra Country*, 1941.

Goyal, S.R., *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, Allahabad, 1967.

——, *A Religious History of Ancient India*, 2 Vols., Meerut, 1984-1986.

——, *Punch-marked Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum*, Hyderabad, 1961.

Gupta, P.L., *The Imperial Guptas*, 2 Vols., Varanasi.

Jayaswal, K.P., *History of India 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.*, Lahore, 1933.

Jouveau-Dubreuil, G., *Ancient History of the Deccan* (Engl. tr.), Pondicherry, 1920.

Kane, P.V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vols. 1-5, Poona, 1930-62.

Khare, G.H., *Dakshiṇachyā Madhyayugīna Itihāsāchī Sādhane* (*Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan*), 4 Parts, Poona.

Krishnamachariar, M., *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1937.

Krishnamurty, K., *Nagarjunakonda: A Cultural Study*, Delhi, 1977.

Lahiri, Bela, *Indigenous States of Northern India*, Calcutta, 1974.

Majumdar, A.K., *Chalukyas of Gujarat*, Bombay, 1956.

Majumdar, R.C. and Altekar, A.S. (Eds.), *A New History of the Indian People, The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, Delhi, 1960.

Majumdar, R.C. and Pusalkar, A.D. (Eds.), *History and Culture of the Indian People*, II *The Age of Imperial Unity*, 2nd ed., Bombay, 1953.

——, *History and Culture of the Indian People*, III: *The Classical Age*, Bombay, 1954.

——, *History and Culture of the Indian People*, IV: *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, Bombay, 1954.

——, *History and Culture of the Indian People*, V: *The Struggle for Empire*, 2nd ed., Bombay, 1966.

Mirashi, V.V., *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, Nagpur, 1960 and 1968; Vol. II, Nagpur, 1961; Vol. III, Nagpur, 1962; Vol. IV, Varanasi, 1963.

——, *Literary and Historical Researches in Indology*, Delhi, 1975.

——, *Indological Research Papers*, Nagpur, 1982.

——, *Studies in Ancient Indian History*, Nagpur, 1984.

——, *The History and Inscriptions of the Kshatrapas.*

——, *The History and Inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas*, Bombay, 1981.

Misra, Binayak, *Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa*, Calcutta, 1933.

——, *Orissa under the Bhauma-Kara Kings*, Calcutta, 1934.

Moraes, G.M., *Kadamba-kula*, Bombay.

Motichandra, *Kāśī kā Itihāsa*, Bombay, 1962.

Nair, S. Bhaskaran, *Bhārati Bhānam*, Dr. K.V. Sarma Felicitation Volume, Hoshiarpur, 1980.

Negi, J.S., *Some Indological Studies*, Allahabad.

Nema, S.R., *Political History of the Somavaṁśī Kings of South Kosala and Orissa*, New Delhi, 1978.

Panigrahi, K.C., *Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavaṁśīs of Orissa*, Bhopal, 1961.

Pargiter, F E., *Tha Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Indian Reprint, Varanasi, 1961.

Pohanekar, N.S., *Raṭṭavaṁśīya Ballāla yāchā Andhāpura Śilālekh* (Marathi), Bombay.

Rajurakar, A.J., *Chandrapūra cha Itihāsa*, Chandrapur, 1956.

Rao, M. Rama, *List of Published Sātavāhana Coins*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 6, Varanasi, 1958.

——, *Sātavāhana Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum*, Andhra Pradesh Govt. Archaeological Series, Hyderabad.

——, *Vishṇukuṇḍin Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum*, Andhra Pradesh Govt. Archaeological Series, No. 10, Hyderabad, 1963.

Ramachandran, T.N., *Nagarjunakonda*, MASI, No. 71, Delhi, 1938.

Ramesh, K.V., *Indian Epigraphy*, I, Delhi, 1984.

Rapson, E.J. (Ed.), *Cambridge History of India*, I, Indian Reprint, Delhi, 1955.

Rath, B.K., *Cultural History of Orissa*, Delhi, 1983.

Ray, H.C., *Dynastic History of Northern India*, II, Calcutta, 1936.

Raychaudhuri, H.C., *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1958.

——, *Political History of Ancient India*, 6th ed., Calcutta, 1953.

Roy, S.N., *Historical and Cultural Studies in the Purāṇas*, Allahabad, 1978.

Sankalia, H.D. *et al.*, *From History to Pre-history at Nevasa*, Poona, 1960.

Sankaranarayanan, S., *The Vishṇukuṇḍis and Their Times*, Delhi, 1977.

Saraswati, Omananda, *Bhārata ke Prāchīna Mudrāṅka*, Jhajjar.

Sarkar, H., *Early Buddhist Architecture of India*, Delhi, 1966.

Sarma, I.K., *Coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire*, Delhi, 1980.

Sastri. K.A.N., (Ed.), *Comprehensive History of India*, II, Calcutta, 1957.

Sastri, K.A.N., *The Colas*, 2nd ed., Madras, 1955.

Sastri, K.A.N. and Venkataramanaiah, N., *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Madras, 1946.

Sastri, T.V.G., *Exploration, Excavation Bulletin*, No. 1, Birla Archaeological and Cultural Research Institute, Hyderabad.

Sastri, T.V.G., Kasturi Bai, M., and Vara Prasada, J., *Veerapuram*, Birla Archaeological and Cultural Research Institute, Hyderabad.

Sharma, G.R., *Excavations at Kauśāmbī, MASI*, No. 74, Delhi.

——, *Excavations at Kauśāmbī*, Allahabad.

Shastri, Ajay Mitra, *An Outline of Early Buddhism*, Varanasi, 1965.

——, *India as seen in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varahamihira*, Delhi, 1969.

——, Ṭripuri (Hindi), Bhopal, 1971.

——, *Yādava Inscriptions from Ambe Jogai*, Hoshiarpur, 1972.

Shastri, Ajay Mitra, *India as seen in the Kuṭṭanīmata of Dāmodaragupta*, Delhi, 1975.

——, *Kauśāmbī Hoard of Magha Coins*, Nagpur, 1979.

——, *Ajanta*, (Hindi), Delhi, 1980.

——, (Ed.), *Coinage of the Sātavāhana and Coins from Excavations*, Nagpur, 1972.

——, (Ed.), *Coins and Early Indian Economy*, Varanasi, 1976.

——, (Ed.), *Foreign Elements in Indian Indigenous Coins*, Varanasi, 1982.

Singhal, C.R., *Bibliography of Indian Coins*, Part I, Bombay, 1950.

Sinha, B.P., *Dynastic History of Magadha*, Delhi, 1977.

——, *Readings in History and Culture*, Delhi, 1978.

Sircar, D.C., *Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan*, Calcutta, 1939.

——, *Indian Epigraphy*, Delhi, 1965.

——, *Studies in Indian Coins*, Delhi, 1968.

——, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, 2nd Ed., Delhi, 1971.

——, *Studies in the Yuga Purāṇa and other Texts*, Delhi.

——, (Ed.), *Early Indigenous Indian Coins*, Calcutta, 1970.

Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum, Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*, New Series, General Section, IV.

Smith, V.A., *Early History of India*, Oxford, 1957.

Subrahmanyam, R., *The Tundi Copper-Plate Grant of the Vishṇukuṇḍin King Vikramendravarman*, Andhra Pradesh Govt. Archaeological Series, No. 8, Hyderabad, 1962.

Thaplyal, K.K., *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals*, Lucknow, 1972.

Upadhyaya, B.S., *Buddhakālīna Bhāratiya Bhūgola*, Prayag, V.S., 2016.

Yazdani, G. (Ed.), *Early History of the Deccan*, 2 Vols., Oxford, 1960.

C. GLOSSARIES

Bhattacharya, Taranatha, *Vāchaspatya*, 6 Vols , Varanasi, 1962.

Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1899; Indian Reprint, Delhi, 1981.

Radhakantadeva Bahadur, *Śabda-kalpa-druma*, 5 Vols., Delhi, 1961.

Sircar, D.C., *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi, 1966.

D. JOURNALS AND PERIODICALS

Ancient India

Andhra Pradesh Journal of Archaeology.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy.
Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy.
Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports.
Archaeological Survey of South India, Annual Report.
Archaeological Survey of Western India.
Asiatic Researches.
Bhāratī, Bulletin of the College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University.
Bhāratī, Telugu Bulletin.
Bhāratīya Vidyā.
Bibliography of Indian Archaeology
Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona.
Cunnigham's *Archaeological Survey Reports.*
Epigraphia Andhrica.
Epigraphia Indica.
Indian Antiquary.
Indian Archaeology—A Review.
Indian Culture.
Indian Historical Quarterly.
Indian Numismatic Chronicle.
Indore University Research Journal.
Journal Asiatique.
Journal of Ancient Indian History.
Journal of Indian History.
Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
Journal of Orissa History.
Journal of the American Oriental Society.
Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.
Journal of the Asiatic Society.
Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
Journal of the Bihar Research Society.
Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University.
Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India.

Journal of the Indian Academy of Numismatics and Sigillography.
Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihas Parishad.
Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.
Journal of the Orissa Research Society.
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters.
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.
Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society.
Mysore Archaeological Department, Annual Reports.
Nagpur University Journal.
New Aspects of the History of Orissa.
Numismatic Chronicle.
Numismatic Digest.
Numismatic Supplement (of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*).
Orissa Historical Research Journal.
Prachya Pratibha.
Proceedings of All-India Oriental Conference.
Proceedings of Indian History Congress.
Purāṇa.
Sri Venkateswara University Oriental Journal.
Vidarbha Saṁśodhana Maṇḍaḷa Vārshika.
Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal.

INDEX

Abhimanyu, 241
Ābhīra kings, 88
Aḍhabhāra plates of Nannarāja, 222, 231
Adhikārcdhavala, 265
Aghosh, 140, 144, 215
Agnimitra, 9
Ajanta, 74
Ajanta Cave XVI inscription, 66
Ajanta inscription, 60
Ājaṇakabhaṭṭārikā, 49
A.K. Majumdar, 86
A.S. Altekar, 29, 30, 32, 60, 87, 88, 91, 141, 148, 149
Al-Bīruni, 151, 167, 217
Allahabad Museum, 149, 151
Allahabad Pillar inscription, 69
Allahabad Pillar inscription of a Samudra gupta, 141
Allan, 138
Allurra inscription, 109
Amaravati, 101, 104
Amaravati inscription, 108-113, 116
Āmbe, 82, 95
Amgura grant of Jayarāja, 169
Amgura plates, 170
Amoghavarsha's Sanjan plates, 212
Anantasāyana panels, 48
Anantavarman Chudagainga, 250
Andhaka sects, 112
Āndhra-Jātīyas, 11
Andhra Kings, 4
Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum, Hyderabad, 29
Andhra-Sātāvāhanas, 3, 4, 41
Andhra-Sātavāhana rulers, 26
Anthropomorphic form, 114
A-pa-lo-shih-lo, 110
Aparamahāvinaseliyas, 110, 113
Aparaśaila, 110
Aparaśaila school, 110
Aparaseliya, 107, 110
Apilaka, 152
Apridal Temple inscription, 105
Arahaṇaku Vahiṭṭimśkaṇku, 31
Arang grant of Bhīmasena II, 222
Arang inscription of Nanarāja I, 265
Arang plates, 186, 171, 176, 186, 221, 223
Arang plates of Bhīmasena II, 184
Arang plates of Jayarāja, 163, 164
Arang stone inscription, 221
Arikamedu, 6
Arjuna, 85
Aśhoka, 3
Aśmaka, 102
Avalokiteśvara, 225
A.V. Narasimha Murthy, 30

Badami rock inscription of Chalukya Pulakesī I, 65
Badami plates, 250
Babaśrutiya monastery, 109
Bālāghat grant, 57, 62
Bālāghat plates, 61 62, 194
Balachandra Jain, 179
Balijhari plates, 234, 242
Ballāla II, 88
Bamhanī Charter, 193
Bamhanī plates, 61, 192-195, 198-200
Bānakheṭi, 89
Bandhogarh, 195
Bandhogarh inscriptions, 141, 144, 145, 149, 202, 261
Banpur grant, 243
Banpur plates, 242, 243
Banavasi inscription, 32, 35
Barsi Takai inscription, 90
Bālāghaṭ, 57
Bālāghaṭ charters, 58
Baud charters, 248

Baud grant 247, 248, 251
Baud plates of Pṛithermahādeir, 249
B. Ch Chhabra, 198
B.C. Jain, 184
Bhadrabāla, 202, 261
Bhadramagha, 146
Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 3, 26
Bhāideva, 93
Bhambhāgirī, 92
Bhandhogarh, 143
Bhañja records, 247
Bhāradvāja-gotra, 42
Bharhut, 103
Bhaṭṭiprolu, 101
Bhaṭṭiprolu inscription, 116
Bhaṭṭiprolu relic inscription, 116
Bhaṭṭiprolu Stūpa, 103
Bharatabala, 196, 199
Bhauma Kara, 248
Bhauma Kara era, 249
Bhauma Kara record, 249
Bhava, 266
Bhavadeva, 233
Bhavishya purāṇa, 151
Bhima II, 86-88
Bhimasena, 143, 144
Bhita, 146
Bhita sealing, 143, 144
Bhita seal inscription, 144
Bhitargaon, 47
Bhitari pillar inscription, 199
Bhokardan, 8
Bidar Plates of Pravarasena II, 71
Bidar region, 74
B.N. Mukherjee, 64
B.N. Sastry, 123
Bodhisattvahood, 115
B.P. Sinha, 216
Brahmeśvara inscription, 242
Brahmeśvara temple inscription, 241, 251, 265
Brahmagiri, 16
Brahmaṇḍa, 3
Brahmapuri, 8, 9, 23
Brahmapuri hoard, 28
Brihmana Bāvari, 102
British Museum, 138
Bronze coins, 217
Buddha, 225
Buddhaghosa, 112
Buddhism in Andhra Pradesh, 101
Buddhist cannonical texts, 102
Bhuler, 4, 5, 87

Carnelian seal, 233
Central Indian alphabhet, 204
Ceylon Pali tradition, 110
Chaityaka school, 109
Chalcolithic times, 217
Champū-Rāmāyaṇa, 89
Chaṇḍaśrī, 40, 152
Chāṇḍihara, 243
Chandra, 93
Chandragupta Maurya, 65, 150, 261, 265
Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, 69
Chandravalle, 6, 9
Charters of the Pāṇḍavas, 203
Chaudwar Charters of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, 233
Chaudwar plates of Mahābhāvagupta I Janamejaya, 234
Chhabhaggiya monks, 106
Chhimuka, 12
Chola inscription, 242, 248
Chronology, 174, 245
Chronology of later Somavamsins, 239
Chronology of Pāṇḍuvanišins, 211
City of Trivara, 219
Clay sealing from Rajghat, 149
Coins of Prasannamātra, 183
Coin of Śaktikumāra, 8
Coins of Simuka, 41
Copper coins, 133, 151, 217
Copper coins from Bhita excavation, 144
Copper (or bronze) Magha coins, 151, 152
Copper plates charters, 46, 55, 67, 149, 162, 166-168, 177, 182, 184, 195, 212, 222, 232, 235, 239, 240, 244, 250, 261
Copper-plate charters of Devasena, 72, 73
Copper-plate grants, 123, 163, 175, 176, 184, 193, 234, 248
Copper-plate grants of the Bhauma-Kara, 246
Copper-plate grant of Kurud, 172
Copper-plate grants of Pravarasena II, 165
Copper-plate grants of Sudevarāja, 177
Copper-plate inscription, 198, 204, 211, 260
Copper-plate inscription of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, 246
Copper-plate records, 204

Cunningham, 170, 212

Dabhoi inscription, 88
Dakshiṇāpatha, 102
Dāmodarasena, 52
D.C. Sircar, 28, 126, 141, 146, 148, 172, 179, 182, 184, 198, 213, 234, 235, 242, 244, 246
Deogarh Anantaśayana panels, 47
Devadutta, 106
Devapāla, 87
Devasena, 45, 65, 73
Devavarman, 122
Dhamatari plates, 221
Dipavaṁsa, 106
Dravidian languages, 166
D.R. Bhandarkar, 140, 141, 143, 212, 232
D.R. Bhat, 65
D.R. Sahni, 140
Dudia Plates, 63
dynasty Soma-kula, 233

Eastern Deccan, 99
Eastern gaṅga, 91
Edicts of gotamīputra Sātakarṇi I, 5
E. Hultzsch, 111, 213, 218
E.J. Rapson, 27
epigraphic and numismatic record of the Maghas, 139
epigraphic records, 183, 239
Eran, 259
excavation of Bhita, 138, 145, 149
excavation at Dhulikatta, 31
excavation at Mallar, 225
excavation at Nevaśa, 133
excavation at Śatanikoṭa, 17
excavation at Sirpur, 172

Fa-hien, 113
Fatehpur hoard, 148
F. Kielhorn, 59, 212, 246
Fleet, 5, 85, 140, 170, 234, 246

Gaja Lakshmi, 236
Gaṇapatideva, 85
Gangetic expedition, 249
Ganj inscription, 53, 54
Ganjam plates of Satrubhañja, 248
Gauhtamīputra, 6, 7, 12, 22, 26, 29, 30, 38, 40, 69
G. Bhattacharya, 179, 184
Genealogy, 177, 179
Genealogy of the Śarabhapura, 178
Genealogy of Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty, 127
George Bühler, 82
G.H. Kharo, 84, 89
Ginja inscription, 143, 144
Gomikarāja, 68
Goparāja, 259
Govinda, 93, 212
Govindarāja-Govindavarma, 124-126, 128, 129
Govindavarman, 122, 124
grant of Jayarāja, 164
Grant of Vikramendravarman II, 219
G.S. Gai, 64
Guntapalli, 101
Gupta dynasty, 143, 202
Gupta empire, 201
Gupta era, 140
Gurjaras, 87
Gurty Venkat Rao, 28

Haraha inscription, 217
Harisheṇa, 67
Harivarman, 216
Harshagupta, 261
Harsha inscription, 215
Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela, 4
H.C. Ray, 235
H.D. Sankalia, 6
Hemādi, 90
Hemavata, 107
Hevajra, 225
Hindu Law, 200
Hira Lal, 170, 172, 174, 185, 211, 212
Hissa-Borāla inscription, 68, 71-73
Hisse-Borāḷa-slab inscription of Devasena, 64
Historical outline, 181
Hiuen Tsiang, 110
Hosala King, 84
H.R. Divakar, 53
H.R. Raghunatha Bhatta, 30

Ihshvāku period, 109
Imperial Guptas, 138, 140
Indian numismatics, 10
India Office grant, 73
Indore plates, 52, 71
Indrabhattārakavarman, 122

Indradālaleenagara charter, 125
Indrapālanagara, 122
Indrapālanagara Copper-plate charter, 123
Indrapalanagara Copper-plate inscription, 122, 126, 127
Indrapālanagara charter, 126, 128
Indrapālanagara grants, 129
Indraratha, 252
Inscription at Bandhogarh, 147
Inscription at ghantasala, 104
Inscription at Guntupalli, 104
Inscription at Naneghat, 11
Inscription from Govindapur, 245
Inscription of the Bhoja-Maurya chief suketu-varman, 65
Inscription of Devasena, 65
Inscription of Jayarāja, 181
Inscription of Khāravela, 4
Inscription of the Maghas, 140
Inscription of Mahāśiva Tivara, 233
Inscription of the Pāṇduvamśiams, 232
Inscription of Sivamagha, 147
Inscription of the Vākāṭakas, 5, 45
Inscription of Sudevarāja, 181
Ipur II plate, 126, 132, 213, 217, 218, 220
Iśānavavarman, 217
Island of Ceylon, 105

Jayayapeta, 101
Jain Tirthankaras, 16
Jamb Plates, 49
Jasdan inscription, 141
Jatasinga-Dungri, 233
Jatasinga-Dungri plates, 243, 244
Jayabala, 196
Jayarāja, 162, 184, 265
Jayarāja Arang plates, 170
Jayasiṁha I, 219
J. Dubreuil, 185
J.F. Fleet, 212, 234, 246
Jinaprabhasūri, 16
J. Ph. Vogel, 110

Kadi grant, 88
Kākatiya king, 85
Kākutsthavarman, 70
Kalachuri-Chedi era, 140
Kalachuri inscription, 173
Kalibhana plates, 234
Kālidāsa, 10
Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitra, 9
Kalpa-pradipa, 16
Kanheri inscription, 28, 110
Kanishka Kushāṇa inscription, 141
Kara charters, 249
Karimnagar, 41
Karṇa, 235
Karna Sātakarni, 35, 38-40, 43
Karuvema, 92
Kaśyapa, 93
Kauśāmbī, 138, 139, 141
Kauvatal grant, 164, 176
Kauvatal plates, 174, 176, 184, 185, 221
Kauvatal plates of Sudevarāja, 177
K.D. Bajpai, 173, 195
Kelga plates, 234
Kelga plates of Someśvara, 244
Kesanapalli, 109
Kesaria dynasty, 245
Keśi, 88
K. Gopalachari, 28
Khanapur Copper-plate inscription, 132
Kholeśvara, 86, 91, 93-95
Kholeśvara Inscription No. 3, 83
Kielhorn's 60-62, 84
Koni inscription, 224
Kosalā, 139, 162
Kosalan dynasty, 258
Kosalan Śivamagha, 153
Kosam inscription, 145, 147, 148
Kosam records, 141
Kosam inscription of Bhīmavarman, 140
Kotalingala, 11
Kotalingala coins, 12
Kolte, 62, 63
K.P. Jayaswal, 140
Kramāditya, 182
Krisna Deva, 140
Kudopali plates, 240
Kumaragupta I, 61, 69, 70
Kumāra Hakusiri, 21
Kumārasasiri-Satasa, 19, 20
Kumāra Sāta, 21, 22, 41
Kumbha Sātakarni, 35, 38, 39, 43
Kumuranga grant, 249
Kurnool District, 20
Kurud plates, 165, 168, 170, 174, 175, 181, 182
Kurud plates of Narendra, 166, 167

Kushāṇa inscription, 141, 142
Kushāṇa records, 141, 142
K.V. Lakshman Rao, 213, 217

Lakhmeshwar temple, 232
Lakshmaṇa temple inscription, 232
Lakshmaṇeśvara temple, 221
Lakshmī, 165
Lakshmīdeva II, 92
Late Stone Age, 18
lead coin, 18
Liṅgarāja temple, 245
Lochan Prasad Pandeya, 172, 174, 177, 185
Lodhia plates of Sivagupta Bālārjuna, 167
Lokottaravāda text, 109

Mādhavavarman, 219
Madhavavarman I, 122
Mādhavavarman II, 122, 128
Mādhavavarman II Janāśraya. 213
Magadhan dynasty, 215, 216
Magha, 138
Magha dynasty, 142, 149, 203
Magha inscription, 141, 142
Magha records of the Gupta Era, 140
Magi priests of Iran, 151
Mahābhavagupta, 252, 263, 266
Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, 235, 240, 248, 249, 252, 265
Mahabhavagupta II Bhimaratha, 247, 252
Mahabhavagupta III Naghu(hu)sha, 252
Mahabhavagupta IV Uddyotakesarin, 244, 252
Mahabhavagupta V Purañjaya, 244
Mahada plates, 241
Mahakachchāyana, 102
Mahāparinbhāna suttanta, 102
Mahārathis, 21
Mahasamund plates 171, 174, 176, 177, 184, 185
Mahasaṅghika, 106-108, 113, 115
Mahāsaṅghika school, 107
Mahāsenāpati Bhadrabāla, 148
Mahāsīvagupta I Jayāti, 240, 246, 252
Mahāsīvagupta II Dharmaratha, 241, 252, 265
Mahāśivagupta IV Janamejaya, 252
Mahāśivagupta V Karṇa 252, 263
Mahātalavaras Mahāgrāmikas, 21
Mahavanasaliyāna, 111
Mahāyāna movement, 115
Mahāyāna tenets, 114
Mahāyānist Chinese texts, 115
Mahendrāditya, 182
Mahīśāka sect, 114
Māhurjharī, 57
Mahurjharī charters, 61
Māhurjharī plates, 48, 58, 60-62, 194
Malava, 151
Mālava expedition, 85
Malavīkāgnimitra, 10
Malga plates, 201
Malga plates of Śamanta Indrarāja, 192, 200
Malhārā plates of Ādityarāja, 38, 42, 73
Malhārā plates, 43, 67
Mallar, 151
Mallar grants, 193
Mailar grants of Jayarāja, 164
Mallar plates, 61, 170, 179, 192-200, 265
Mallar plates of Jayarāja, 164, 166, 167, 169
Mallar plates of Pravararāja, 164, 165
Mallar plates of Vyāghararāja, 163, 176, 178, 179, 183, 185, 221, 260
Mānamātra-Durgarāja, 176, 185
Mañcyaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka, 122
Mandasar inscription, 69
Māṇḍhal, 46, 50, 68
Māṇḍhal charter, 58, 59, 61
Māṇḍhal grants, 57, 60
Mandhal plates, 46, 48, 56-58, 62, 194
Manmohan Jauhari, 139
Māsod, 51
Māsod grant, 48
Māsod plates of Pravarasena II, 50
Mathura inscription of Kanishka, 141
Matṛisvāmin, 49
Matsya Purāṇa, 4, 26, 33
Maukhari dominions, 216, 217
Maukhari dynasty, 217
Maukhari genealogy, 215
Māyāmochana Tirtha, 82
Meghalithic stone circles, 63
Meharauli inscription, 70
Mekalā, 194, 204
M.F.C. Martin, 28
Mirashi, 29, 40, 53, 60-62, 184, 200, 214
Miregaon charter, 51
M.K. Dhavalikar, 8
Mondasvāmin, 46, 47
Moreswar G. Dikshit, 84, 172, 182

Mother Goddess, 64, 82
Moti Chandra, 141, 142, 149
Mound at Nagar, 134
M. Rama Rao, 29, 32
Mudgala, 93
Mukhalingam plates, 250
Muṇḍa, 42
Muṇḍa-putras, 43
Muṇḍa-putras dynasty, 45
Mungeli inscription, 185
Murari Lal Kedia, 138
Muriya Kāla, 4
Myākadoni inscription, 21

Nachnā inscription, 53
Nachnā-Kītālāī, 54
Nagabala, 196
Nagarjunakonda inscription, 108-110, 112, 113
Nagarjunakonda (Sites 1 and 9), 101, 112
Nagoo, 52
Nagpur, 134
Nagpur Museum inscription of Bhavadeva Raṇakesarin, 212
Nahna plates, 171, 176
Nalas of Bastar, 160
Nalinaksha Dutt, 108
Nandipada, 19
Nandivardhana branch, 46, 64
Nandivardhana Pravarapura branch, 69
Nandugula Venkayya, 22
Naneghat inscription, 20, 41
Naneghat pass, 21
Naneghat record, 5
Nanna II, 223
Nannarāja II, 262
Narasiṁhavarman, 260
Narendrasena, 45, 60, 177, 182
Nasik, 135
Nasik epigraph of Kaṅha, 5
Nasik inscription, 69
N.C. Ghosh, 17
Newasa, 9
N.G. Majumdar, 140
Nimbadeva, 93, 94
Nomenclature in South Kosala, 258
Northern Black Polished Ware, 6
N.P. Chakravarti, 141, 144, 146
Nuapatna plates, 244

Om Preekash Jauhari, 139
Order of succession, 240
Orissa State Museum plates, 247, 249
Orissan temple chronicles, 262

Pallmapāṇi, 225
Padmapura, 48
Painted inscription of the Ginja hill, 143
Paithan plate, 89
Pali plates, 202
Pali texts, 113
Palm leaves, 167
Pāṇḍava chronology, 224
Pāṇḍava dynasty, 194, 204, 222, 263, 265
Pāṇḍava dynasty of Mekalā, 241
Pāṇḍava inscription, 201
Pāṇḍavas of Mekalā, 192, 202, 265, 266
Pāṇḍhurṇa plates, 63
Pāṇḍuvamaśa rule, 224
Pāṇḍuvaṁśins, 170, 231, 258, 261, 266
Pāṇḍuvaṁśins copper plate grants, 235
Pāṇḍuvamaśa king Udayana, 176
Pāṇḍuvamśa, 232
Pan-Indian sects, 101
Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda, 182
Paramāra Bhoja, 249
Paramāra dynasty, 89
Paramāra inscription, 242
Paravarasena I, 66
Pargiter, 26, 27, 30, 31, 33, 34, 139, 202
Parvararāja, 186
Pāṭaliputra, 103
Patna charter of Mahaśivagupta I Jayāti, 247
Patna grants, 248
Patna gant of Jayāti, 248
Patna inscription, 88, 90, 91
Patna plates, 234, 246
Paṭṭaṇ Plates, 51
Paunar, 134
Paunar excavation, 8
Pauni, 9, 56, 103
Paunī plates, 56
Peddabankur hoard, 19
Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, 104
Pillar bearing inscription, Allahabad Fort, 150
Pipardula plate, 150, 170, 172, 181, 182
Pipardula plates of Narendra, 166, 168, 169
Plates of copper, 193
P.L. Gupta, 20, 133

Polamuru plates, 213, 214, 217, 218, 220
Polamuru plates of Mādhavavarman, 219
Polamburu grant, 126
Poona Plates, 52, 212
Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, 174
Pothasiri, 145
Potin coin, 29
Prabhavatīguptā, 45, 52, 68, 69
Prabhāvatīsvāmin, 71
Prasanna, 183
Prasannamātra's coin, 172, 175, 177
Prashant P. Kulkarni, 54
Pratishthāna, 16
Pratishṭhānapura-Kalpa, 16
Pratishthānapurādhipati—Sātāvāhanā Nripa-charitra, 17
Praushthaśrī, 146
Pravarabhattāraka, 176
Pravarasena I, 67, 72, 73
Pravarasena II, 45, 48, 49, 51, 53, 54, 56-58, 60
Pre-Red Polished ware horizons, 7
Pre-Sātavāhana period, 9
Pṛithivīsamudra, 63
Pṛīthvīdeva II, 225
Pṛithīvīsheṇa I, 54
Pṛithīvīsheṇa II, 45, 48, 54, 58, 59, 61-64, 68-71
P.S. Vaishampayan, 135
Pubhaseliya, 107, 110
Punch-marked coins, 10
Pune-Aurangabad region, 11
Purāñakāras, 11
Pushyamitra, 9
Pushyamitra Śuṅga's, 10
Pulakeśin II, 42
Pulambura grants, 126
Pulomā, 27, 30
Puḷumavi IV, 40
Puramabhaṭṭārikāmahādevī, 124
Purāṇas, 3, 25, 138, 139, 202
Purāṇic chronicles, 11, 12
Purāṇic names, 153
Purāṇic statement, 153
Purāṇic text, 153
Puraṇimānta system, 167
Puri inscriptions, 250
Purushottamapurī plates, 89
Purvasaila, 110
Puvaseliya sect, 109
P.V. Parabhahma Sastry, 72

Queen Nāganikā, 41

Raipur plates, 171, 185
Raipur plates of Sudevarāja, 164
Rājagiriya, 107
Rājagiriya school, 111
Rajan plates of Jīvaradeva, 212
Rājasiṁha, 260
Rajghat (Varanasi), 143
Rāma, 87
Rāma nārāyaṇa inscription, 88
Rāmanārāyaṇa Temple inscription, 83, 86, 87
Rāmapāla, 91
Rāmarājyamu, 22
Rama Rao, 30, 123, 124
Ramatirtham grant, 219
Ramtek inscription, 68
Ranakesarin, 245, 265
Raño Vāsiṭhiputasa Savasara Puḷumāvasa, 31
Raño Vāsiṭhiputasa Sivasiri-Pulumāvisa, 30
Rapson, 28-32, 34
Rāshṭra-Mahārāja, 42
Ratnagiri charters, 250
Ratnagiri plates, 235, 241, 242, 244, 250
Ratnagiri plate of Karṇa, 244
Raṭṭapati Karuvena, 92
R.D. Banerji, 212
records of Pravararāja, 186
Red Polished Ware, 6, 7, 133
Regal Litulature, 258
R.G. Bhandarkar, 85, 87
Rhys Davids, 112
Riddhapur charter, 52
Riddhapur plates, 51, 57
Ritpur plates of Prabhāvatīgupta, 212
R.M. Saklecha, 54
Rock Edict XIII, 103
Roman lead bulla, 8
Rouletted ware, 6
Rudrasena II, 45, 46, 70
Rudrasena I, 47
Rudravarman, 260

Sagar Inscription of Vāparājadeva, 5
Śaila school, 111
Śaila sects, 109, 112
Śailodhava inscription, 222
Śaka era theory, 142, 150
Sakaleśvara, 95

Sakaleśvara Inscription, 89-93
Sakaleśvara Temple inscription, 83-89
Śaka Sātakarṇe, 35, 38, 39, 43
Śaktikumāra, 21-23, 41
Saktisrī, 35
Salihundam, 101
Sālivāhana, 17
Samudragupta, 203
Sanchi, 103
Sanchi votive inscription, 116
Sankhameri plates, 242
Śarabha, 181
Śarabhapura, 170
Śarabhapura charters, 180
Śarabhapura grants, 171, 180
Śarabhapura inscription, 180, 222
Śarabhapura records, 179
Śarabhapurīyas, 162, 258
Śarabhapurīyas copper-plate inscriptions, 180
Śarabhapurīya dynasty, 176, 178, 200, 218
Śarabhapurīya epigraphs, 178
Śarabhapurīya grants, 187
Śarabhapurīya period, 173
Śarabhapurīya records, 200
Sarabhavarm plates, 171
Sarangarh plate, 166, 171
Sarvasena II, 45, 72
Sātokarṇi, 4, 26, 27, 34
Sātākarṇi I, 4, 10
Satakumāra, 11
Sātāni-Koṭṭa, 22, 23, 41
Sātavāhanas, 39, 40
Sātavāhana-āhāra, 12
Sātāvāhana dynasty, 41
Sātavāhana empire, 31
Sātavāhana period, 105, 153
Sātavāhana power, 38
Sātavāhana rule, 3, 103
S.B. Deo, 6, 8
Seal-epigraphs, 186
seal-inscription, 147, 177, 178, 182, 184-186, 259, 260
seal-inscriptions of Jayarāja, 177, 183
seal of Vyāghararāja's plates, 183
Śenakapat inscription, 232
S G. Tulpule, 84
Siddhartthaka school, 111
Siddhattahaka, 107
Simuka, 4, 5, 11
Simuka Sātavāhana, 17
Siṅghaṇa, 82, 87, 91-93, 95
Siṅghaṇas Chola, 88
Singrauli plates, 202
Sircar, 214, 247, 248
Siri Sātakarṇi, 6
Siri Sātavāhana, 7
Sirpur dynasty, 171
Sirpur inscription, 216
Sirpur Lakshmaṇa Temple Inscription, 2, 12, 213, 215
Sirpur plates, 164, 171
Sirpur plates of Sudevaraja, 166
Sirpur stone inscription, 282
Sisupalgarh, 6
Śiva, 266
Sivagupta, 240, 252
Sivamagha I, 146, 147
Śivamagha II, 146
Śivaśrī, 27
Śivaśri Pulomā, 26, 28, 29, 33, 35
Śivaśri Sātakarni, 32
Śivatiru Puḷumāviku, 31
Siwani grant, 55
Skandagupta's Bhitari pillar inscription, 53
S.K. Pandey, 173, 195
S.N. Rajaguru, 248
Sobhana Gokhale, 64
Soma, 42
Somakuli inscriptions, 240
Somakulin rule, 264
Somavamśins, 5, 211, 231, 232, 258
Somavamśin period, 233
Somavamṣān records, 232
Śrīpura, 175
Śrīpurusha, 198
S. Sankaranarayanan, 64, 218
Sten Konow, 171, 185
Stirling, 212
Stone inscriptions, 30, 163, 239
See brahmanyam, 101
Sudevarāja, 185
Sudevarāja charters' 171
Sudevarāja plates, 164
Śurabala, 192, 196, 261
Suryavarman, 217
Suryavarman's dynasty, 216
Svabhāvatuṅga-Janamejaya, 250
Svāmideva, 93
Svāmilladeva, 65
Svāmirāja, 42

Svastika, 19
S.V. Bakhle, 29

Tārā, 225
Tarhāḷā, 32
Tarhāḷā hoard, 39
Tasgaon plates of Yādava Kṛishṇa, 88
Taxila, 6
T'e-na-ka-che-ka, 110
Terracotta sealings, 138
Thakurdiya plates, 132, 213
Thāḷner grant of Herishena, 65
Thāḷner plates, 63, 66, 72
Thāḷner plates of Harisheṇa, 72
Theravāda, 106
Theravadins, 108
Theravādu offshoots, 107
Theravāda sects, 114
Thorburn, 28
Three plates of copper, 163
Tiberious coins, 9
Tiroḍī charters, 50
Tirodī grant of Pravarasena II, 50
Tirumalai inscription, 249
Tivaradeva, 220, 223, 234
Tivaradeva records, 232
Tripura, 218
Tripuri, 152
Trivikrama, 93
Tumburu plates, 250
Tumburu plates of Chodogaṅga, 251
Jummalaguden plates, 128

Udayana, 196, 203, 204
Udaypur stone inscription of Udayāditya, 249
Uddari stone inscription, 85
Ujjain symbol, 39
Uninscribed die-struck, 9

Vaishṇavite record, 47
Vaisravaṇa inscription, 148
Vājiriya, 107
Vajjian republic, 108
Vākāṭakas, 38, 45, 46, 174
Vāākāṭaka copper-plate grants, 52
Vākāṭaka Copper-plate inscription, 48
Vākāṭaka dynasty, 38
Vākāṭaka epigraphy, 55, 72
Vākāṭaka grants, 55
Vākāṭaka history, 52
Vākāṭaka inscription, 57, 73
Vākāṭaka period, 48
Vākāṭaka records, 47, 50, 62, 63
Vākāṭaka Vishṇava images, 47
Varamihira, 151
Vardhana, 42
Varman dynasty, 217
Vāsishṭhiputra Bhīmasena, 142
Vasishṭhiputra Puḷumāvi, 22, 38
Vāsishṭīputra Sātakarṇi, 28, 29, 32, 35
Vāsishṭhī Śivaśri Puḷumāvi, 25
Vāsishthīputra Skanda Sātakarni, 32
Vāsudeva, 93
Vatsa country, 203
Vatsagulma, 46, 48
Valsagulma Branch, 64-66
Vatsarāja, 196
Vatsa (Allahabad) region, 138
Vāyu, 3
Vāyu Purāṇa, 4, 26, 33-35
V.B. Kolte, 56, 59, 60, 62, 64
Vedaśśī, 35
Veerapuram, 8
Vidarbha, 41
Vijayanagara period, 22
Vikramāditya, 17
Vikramahendru, 122
Vikramendravarman I, 122, 219
Vikramendravarman II grant, 124
Vikramendravarman III, 122
Vikramendra II, 125
Vikramendra bhaṭṭarakavarman II, 122, 123
Vinaya-piṭaka, 102, 113
Vincent A. Smith, 133
Vindhyaśakti I, 42, 43, 66
Vindhyaśakti II, 73
Vīra-Charita, 17
Viśaladeva, 88
Viṣhṇukuṇḍiṇs, 8, 122, 132
Viṣhṇukuṇḍin chiefs, 214
Viṣhṇukuṇḍin chronology, 129, 219
Viṣhṇukuṇḍin coin, 134
Viṣhṇukuṇḍin dynasty, 123, 125, 127
Viṣhṇukuṇḍin inscription, 128, 213, 215
Viṣhṇukuṇḍin records, 126, 127, 219
Viṣhṇukuṇḍin ruler Madhavarman II, 175
Visṇu Purāṇa, 25-27, 29, 32-35, 202
Vishṇuvardhana I, 214

V.S. Sukthankar, 22
V.V. Mirashi, 28, 39, 42, 45, 52, 59, 65, 89, 90, 132, 141, 145, 172, 175, 185, 195, 202, 213, 214, 220, 223, 224, 234
Vyaāghra, 54
Vyāghrarāja's record, 180

Wategaon coins, 32
Wategaon grants, 55
Wategaon hoard, 30
Wategaon grant of Pravarasena II, 53
Walter Elliot, 133
Wasim Plates, 66, 72, 73
Wasim plates of Vindhyaśakti, II, 72
Western Kshatrapa epigraphs, 142
W. Geiger's, 111

Yādava armies, 87
Yādava dynasty, 82
Yādava kings, 92
Yādava records, 85, 88
Yādava Siṅghava, 82
Yajuirveda, 58
Yajñ Sātakarṇi, 6
Yavatmal Plates, 54
Yogeśvari Inscription, 95
Yogeśvari Temple inscription, 91, 93
Yogeśvari Temple inscription (No. 3), 82-86, 88
Y.R. Guple, 132
Yuan Chwang, 108, 110, 112, 113, 224

CORRECTIONS

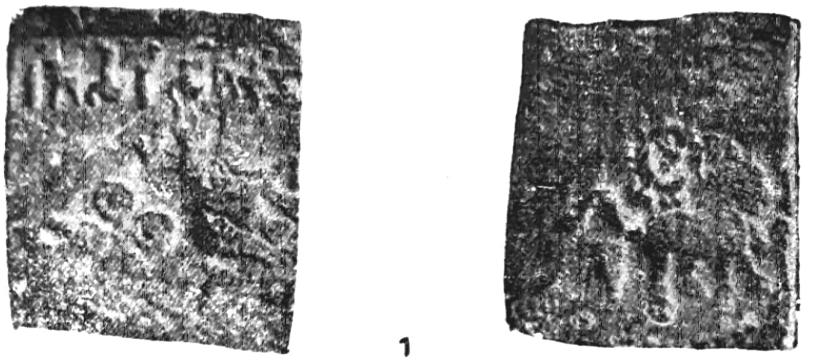
Page	*Line*	*Read*	*For*
4	11	is	in
8	27	from	for
8	36	cm	or
11	36	scholars	sholars
13	19	copying	copping
14	45	P.K.	P.P.
15	1	Type of Sri Satakarni	Type Sri Satakarni
15	8	based on or borrowed	based on borrowed
18	13	letters	latters
18	26	*sa*	*rasa*
20	36	present	presen
23	20	form	from
25	32	in complete	incomplete
26	10	monarchs	monarch
29	28	Sātakarṇī	Sātkarṇi
29	37	*Vishṇu*	*Vihṇu*
30	11	form	from
32	20	and	an
32	39	Rao's list	Rao, lists
33	10	In	It
34	25	*Tasy-āpi*	*Tasvāpi*
35	23	of	to
39	14	or	of
39	32	determine	determine
50	7	would	wound
51	3	nineteenth	ninteenth
52	29	of	or
53	3	viz.	siz
53	9	*yuddhy*	*yuddhay*
54	20	believe	belive
55	1	donees	denees
57	22	genealogy	genealogly
58	27-28	counterpart	counterpart on part
60	28	later part	part
61	9	assumption	assumption and
63	10	Pṛithivīsamudra	Prithivrsamudra
63	18	accept	accept to
63	27	record is situated in	record in
66	5	Khūḍasvāmīn	Khūḍasvanmin
66	9	Vaṁśīvāhalī	Vamsīvāhall
66	34	supplied	suyplied
66	38	titles	tiles
67	6	some more official	some official
67	30	vengeance	vengence
67	40	parallel	paṛalled
68	3	been the case	been in the case
70	20	Kumāragupta	of Kumāragupta
71	6	found	round
71	24	refer to	refer
71	24	as long as	as
71	31	Devasena	Pravarasena
78	25	*agrahāra*	*agranāra*
78	35	were issued from	were from
78	46	Ishṭākapallī	Ishṭākapollī
79	41	21-22	21022
80	5	scion	scoin
81	46	pp. 15-20	pp.
85	41	Gaṇapati's	Gaṇapti's
87	11	Gujarat in order to help his	Gujarat his
88	9	Bhīma II	Bhīmla II
88	11	identified	indentified
88	36	Bhambhāgiri	Bambhāgiri
89	3	identify	indentify
90	4	he is	he
91	30	*Vāvannadeśīya-*	*Vānannadeşīya-*
92	3	*-nimagna-dakshiṇa -nṛipati-senā- pṛithvī- samuddharaṇa-*	*-nimogna- dakshiṇā- nṛipati-sena pṛithvī- samudharaṇā-*
93	20	father's	fater's
94	14	sacrifices	sarifices
94	23	erected	rected

Page	*Line*	*Read*	*For*
94	35	*agrahāras*	*agrahāra*
97	27	*-karaṭī-kaṇṭhīravo*	karati-kaṇṭhirava
98	12	*kshmāpati*	*kshamāpati*
101	31	region in the	region the
102	13	*Mahāparinibbā-nasuttanta*	*Mahāparinibhā-nasuttanta*
102	26	*aṭṭhakathā*	*aṭṭakathā*
102	28	at	as
104	6	treasurers	treasures
103	14	District	Distsict
105	14	F	P
107	14	Dharmottarīya	Dharmotarīya
108	23	*goshṭhī*	*goshṭī*
108	40	Aparasaila) sects	Aprasila) sects are found mentioned
109	4	allusions	allusion
109	10	Bahuśrutīya	Bahaśrutīya
109	11	later	latter
109-10		Nagarjunakonda	Nagarjuna
110	1-2	Virapurushadatta	Vīrapuruha-datta
110	12	Aparamahā-vinaseliya	Aparamaha-vinuseliya
110	25	that in the	that the
111	27	words	swords
111	30&31	'reference' At 'inscription'	'references' & 'inscriptions'
112	19	*parigahita*	*parighita*
112	20	was	were
114	10	are	and are
115	7	Mahāsaṅghika sects, which	Mahāsaṅgika-sects, who
115	34	belonged	belonging
116	18	undertaken	undertook
117	48	Sivaramamurti	Sivaramamurti
119	2	Siddhārthaka	Siddpārthaka
119	36	therefore	therfore
120	9	Dhanakaṭaka	Dhanakaṭak
120	11	Vāsishṭhīputra	Vāsiṣṭhipura
120	23	later	late
120	45	no. 16, pp	no.
121	18	*Prajñāpāramitā*	*Prajāpāramitā*
123	40	Dakṣhiṇāpatha	Dakshṇāpatha
124	2	*dakshiṇāpathasya*	*dakṣhṇāpathasya*
124	5	*manorathasya*	*manorathasya*
124	37	Govindarāja	Govindrāja
125	21	Indrapālanagara	Indradālanagara
125	22	—inspiring	—inspring
125	32	conspicuous	conspicious
130	5	Romanised	Romansed
130	6	suggests	suggests
130	12	rulers	rules
130	14	*JIH*	*JIM*
130	22	*yaśoianmanaḥ*	*yaśojanmanah*
130	32	Mādhavavarman	Mādhavarman
130	33	Vishṇukuṇḍin	Viśhnukṇḍin
130	38	Vikramendra-varman	Vikramenpra-varman
130	41	Indrabhaṭṭāraka-varman	Indrabhaṭṭā-rakasvarman
132	25	charter	character
134	4	middle	midde
134	14	varieties	varieanties
134	16	their	there
134	23	by	bo
135	27	of the conquest of	of
136	7	*Trikūṭa*	*Trikṭūa*
138	26	century	centuary
139	12	Maghas	Magha
140	17	Samudragupta	Samundragupta
140	23	minting	mintings
140	28	to	of
141	18	others	other
141	24	Kushāṇa rule	Kushāṇas
143	38	Bhīmavarman	Bhi mavaran
145	14	Bhadramagha	Bhandramagha
146	6	equally	epually
146	22	Kautsīputra	Kaustiputra
147	1	the	his
147	24	new	few
147	28	Kautsīputra	Kausiputra
147	38	his	this
148	37	indicated by	indicated
149	18	probable	probably
151	28	pointed	point
152	18	numerous	humerous
153	6	is quite	quite
153	40	out	cut
154	10	*States of*	*States*
155	8	out of	out
155	8	and are	are
156	13	dates	dated

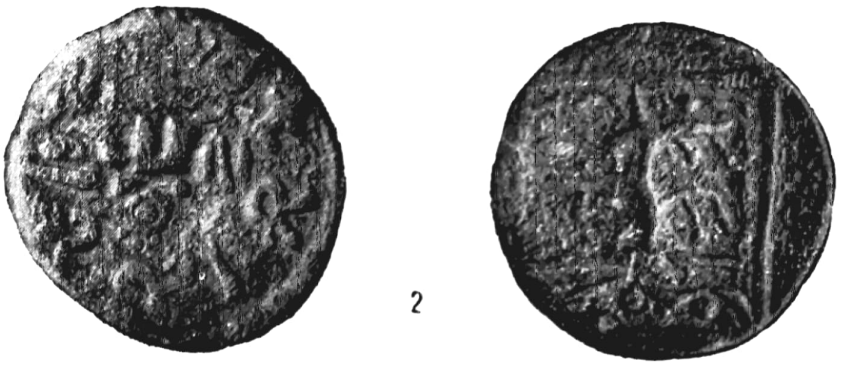
Page	*Line*	*Read*	*For*
155	18	*Northern India*	*North-Eastern Indian*
156	45	bear	bears
157	45	*INC*	*IXC*
159	2	earlier	eorlier
159	21	that	hat
160	49	*Seals*	*Sales*
161	16	us	up
161	27	Coins	Coin
162	20	inscribed	incribed
163	11	Sarabhapurīyas	Śarabhaporiyas
163	40	Thakurdiya	Thakundiya
164	9	charters	characters
164	12	3.3/5" × 3"	33/5" × 3"
165	4	bent	best
165	17	leanings	learnings
166	22	Mallar	Mallor
166	29	was	are
167	3-4	ascertaining	ascertaing
167	20	*Kārttika-dina* 30[30]	*Kārttika-dina*[30]
167	22	scheme	secheme
169	25	*=vvasu*	*=viasu*
169	30	*pratishṭhā*	*pratishiha*
169	33	*avatishṭhate*	*avatishṭnate*
171	13	Kauvatal	Kaotal
172	1	has	had
172	13	are quite	quite
172	17	that	the
174	8	latter	letter
175	19	and	ane
176	19	Pravararāja	Pravarāja
176	38	Jayabhaṭṭāraka and Pravarabhaṭṭāraka	Jayabhaṭṭārka and Pravarbhaṭṭārka
177	37	been	bee
178	26	Amarāryakula	Amerāryakula
179	18	Mānamātra	Mānmātra
179	30	or	of
180	2	auxiliary	auxilitry
180	13	Śarabhapura	Śarabhpura
180	26	addressees	addresses
182	18	succeeded	succeded
183	15& 19	horizontal	horixontal
183	22	Śrī-Prasana	Śrī-Praṣana
183	39	Vyāghrarāja	Vyāhrarāja
184	16-17	maintained	mainained
184	37	his	dis
184	40	561-70	570-71
184	15	separated	separted
186	37	Śarabhapurīyas in	Śarabhapurīpas rn
188	1	*A.G.*	*E.g.*
118	7	plate	Plates
188	21	seals	sea's
188	33	Arang	Arant
188	35	Pravararāja	Pravarāja
188	43	Nāraka	Nārada
188	45	charters	characters
188	46	Sudi	Subi
189	2	Sudevarāja	Sundevarava
189	14	has not yet	has yet
189	19	see	se
189	40	*avatishthate tāvad*	*avatishtnatetāvad*
192	27	notions	nations
193	7	of	by
193	38	*siddham*	*siddhuam*
194	3	which are followed	which followed
195	8	Śūrabala	Śūrbala
199	25	even as	even by as
199	30	presently	presenstly
200	3	*sagotras*	*sagolitras*
200	13	Bamhani	Bemhani
200	24& 30	latter	later
201	3	addressees	addresses
201	25	century	centuary
202	33	Bhadrabāla	Bhadrabaāla
203	23	*Mahāsenāpati*	*Menāsenāpati*
204	4	had	and
204	8	have been	have
204	26	would	whould
204	33	latter	later
205	25	are found	found
205	43	capital is	capital of is
208	30	*trayodaśa*	*travodaśa*
208	46	*vīryavanto*	*vīrvavanto*
209	41& 48	charters	characters
210	2-3	favouring	favouing
212	31	inscriptions	inscription,
214	26	sixty	sixly
214	33	suggestions	suggestion

Page	*Line*	*Read*	*For*
216	39	problem and	problem as and
217	3	even if we	we
217	41	connote	connot
220	9	later than	than
220	30	consequently	consequenty
222	1	Śūrabala	Śūrabhala
222	19	is	it
222	20	members	member
223	19	Udayana's	Udgyana's
224	4	Pāṇḍava	Bāṇḍava
224	40	conversant	conversent
226	5	inscription	incription
226	10	palaces	places
226	36	charters	characters
227	10	on the one hand	on one the hand
227	13	homonymous	homonymons
227	17	*-ānikharvaṁ*	*-aniknarvam*
227	21	came	come
227	37	Avantivarman	Advantivarman
228	5	Maukhara	Mukharas
228	18	latter	letter
229	5	argument	argdement
229	24	*-pūrṇa-*	*-pūraṇa-*
229	39	necessity	necessasity
229	40	predecessor	prececessor
230	5	*bhāvān*	*bhāyān*
232	9	*śīt-āṁśu-vaṁśa-vimal-*	*'śīt-āṁśu-vimal*
232	24	*śaśadhar-*	*śaśadha*
232	31	Jatesinga-	Jotesinga-
232	34	so	no
234	30	latter	later
234	38	of substantial	or constantial
235	27	appear	apper
235	35	devices	device
236	6	alone	along
237	28	*JAHRS*	*JAHARS*
239	16	of	or
239	20	has been possible	has possible
239	24	they seem	they soon
240	2	proposed	propsed
240	10	felt that Śiva-gupta was	was felt that Sivagupta
240	37	successor of	successor
243	4	descendants	decendants
243	10	conceded	conceeded
243	17	Nahusha	Nuhusha
243	22	mentioned	mention
243	27	Mahābhavagupta	Mahābhavaguputa
243	33	hostility	hostilly
243	37	*Rāṇaka*	*Rāṇak*
243	38	*Mahāsāndhivi-grahika*	*Mahāsāndhivi-grahska*
244	10	successor	sucessor
245	5	was	wns
251	5	Somavaṁśin	Somavaśin
251	20	Śivagupta's	Sivagupta'
251	24	occupation	occuption
Note : Last para at p. 241 should be read after the chart at p. 242			
252	9	Śaṅkararatha	Saṅararatha
253	2	Somakulīs	Somakalīs
253	10	Janamejaya	Janamejava
254	5	charters	chapters
256	26	nay	may
254	32	*IA*	*AI*
254	37-38	Mahakosala	Makakosala
254	41	*Mahāsāndhivi-grahika*	*Mahāsāndhivi grohika*
254	46	pp. 1117-21	1217-21
256	6	are the only	are not only

ILLUSTRATIONS



1

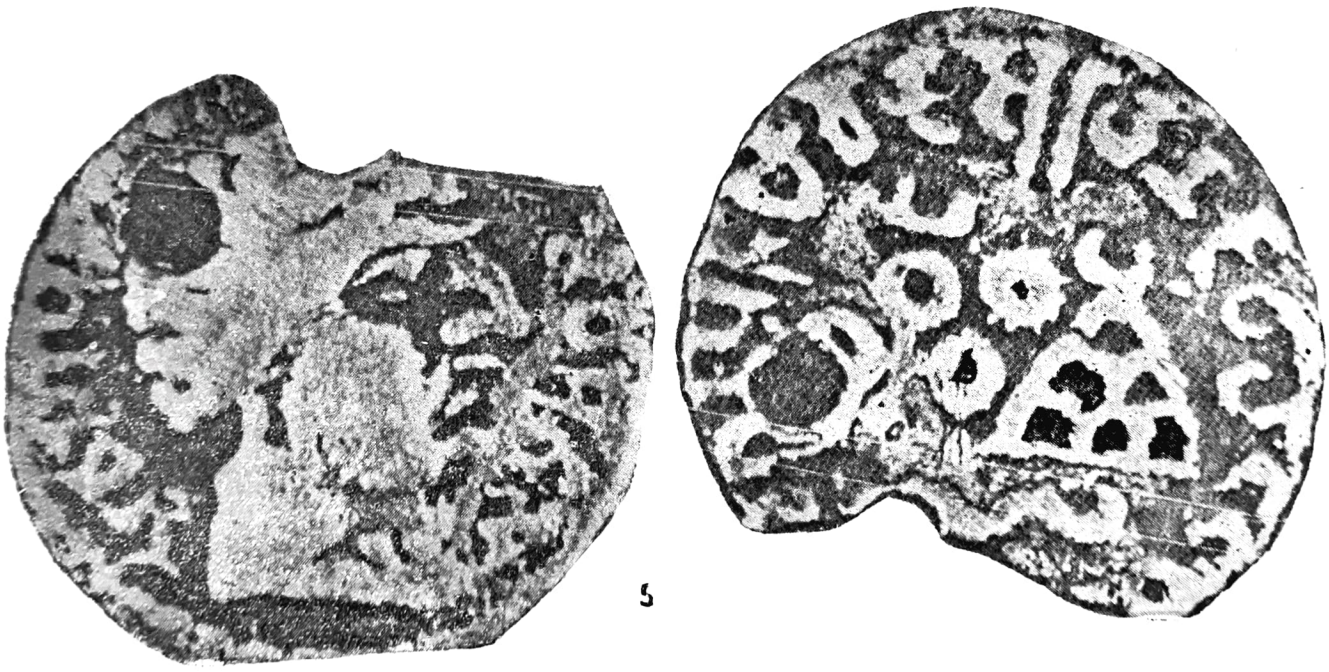


2

3

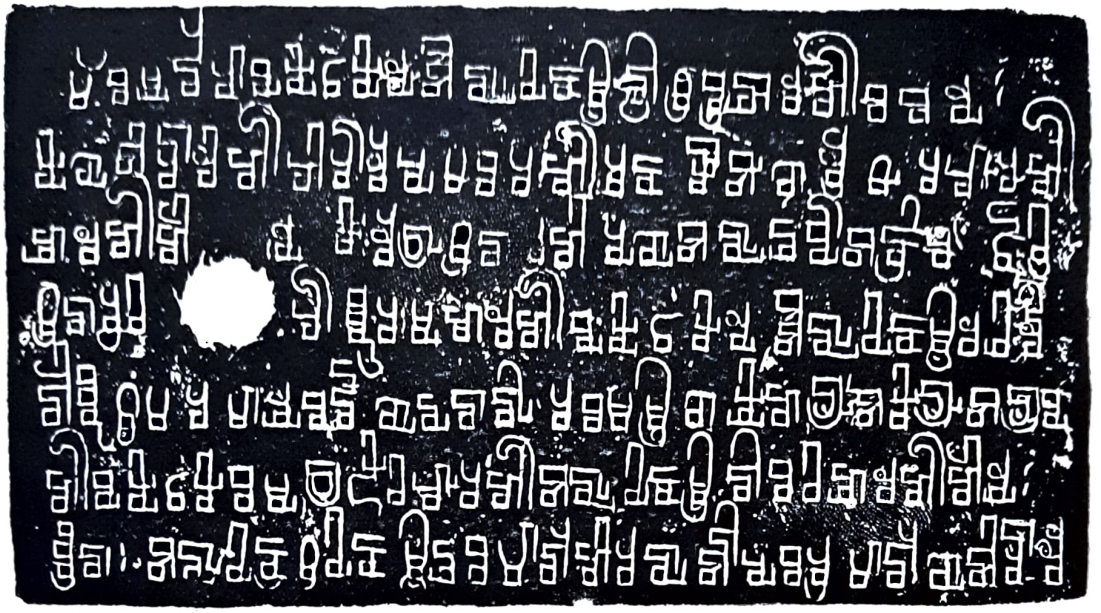
Pl. I. 1-3

4



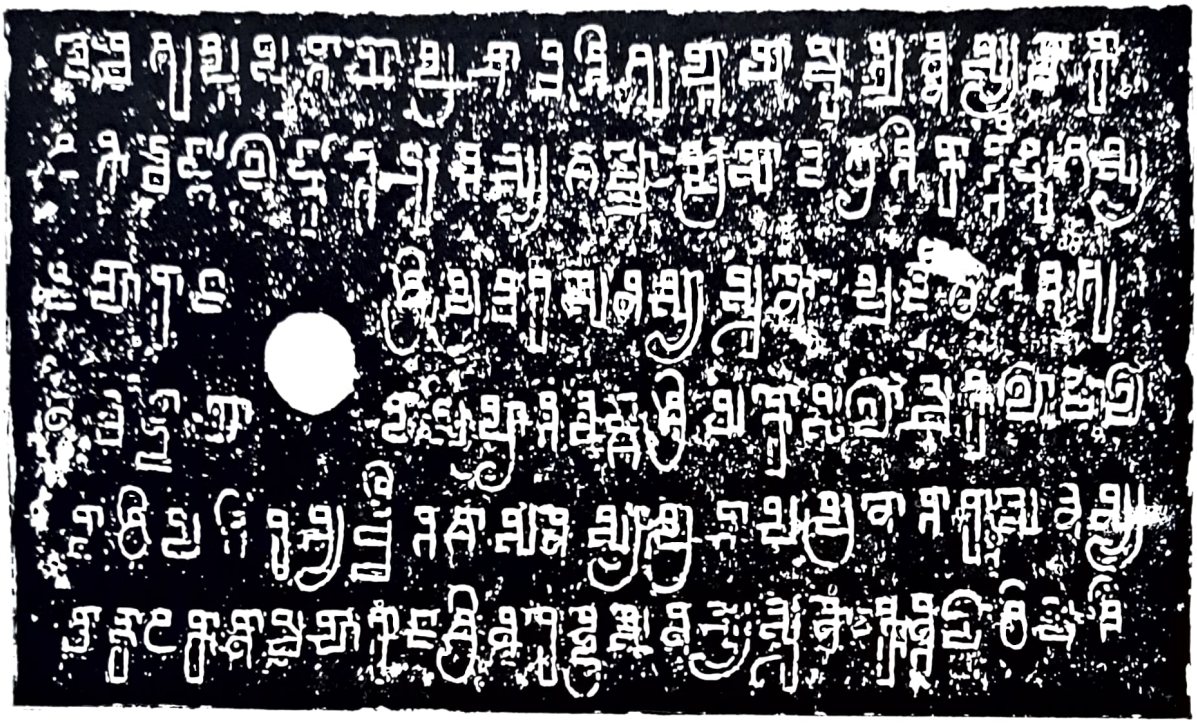
5

Pl. 11. 4-5

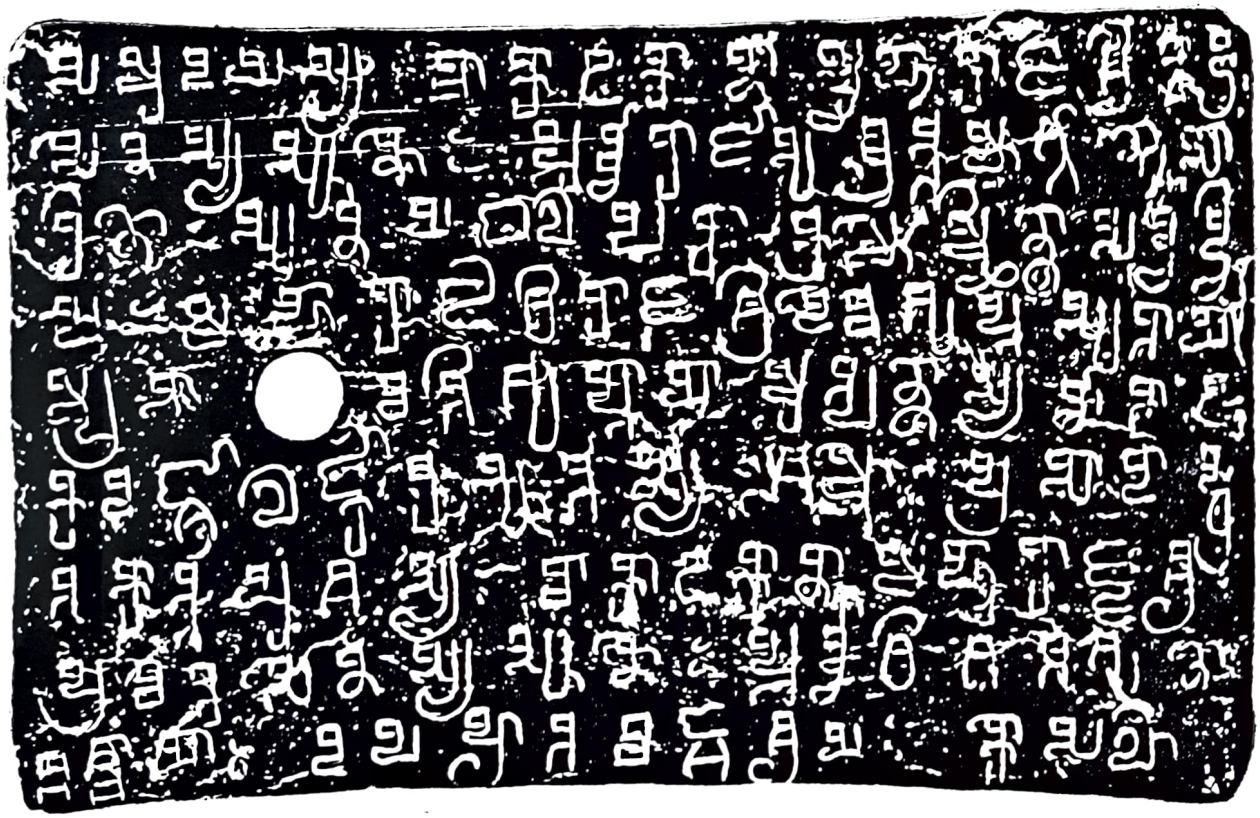


Pl. III. 6

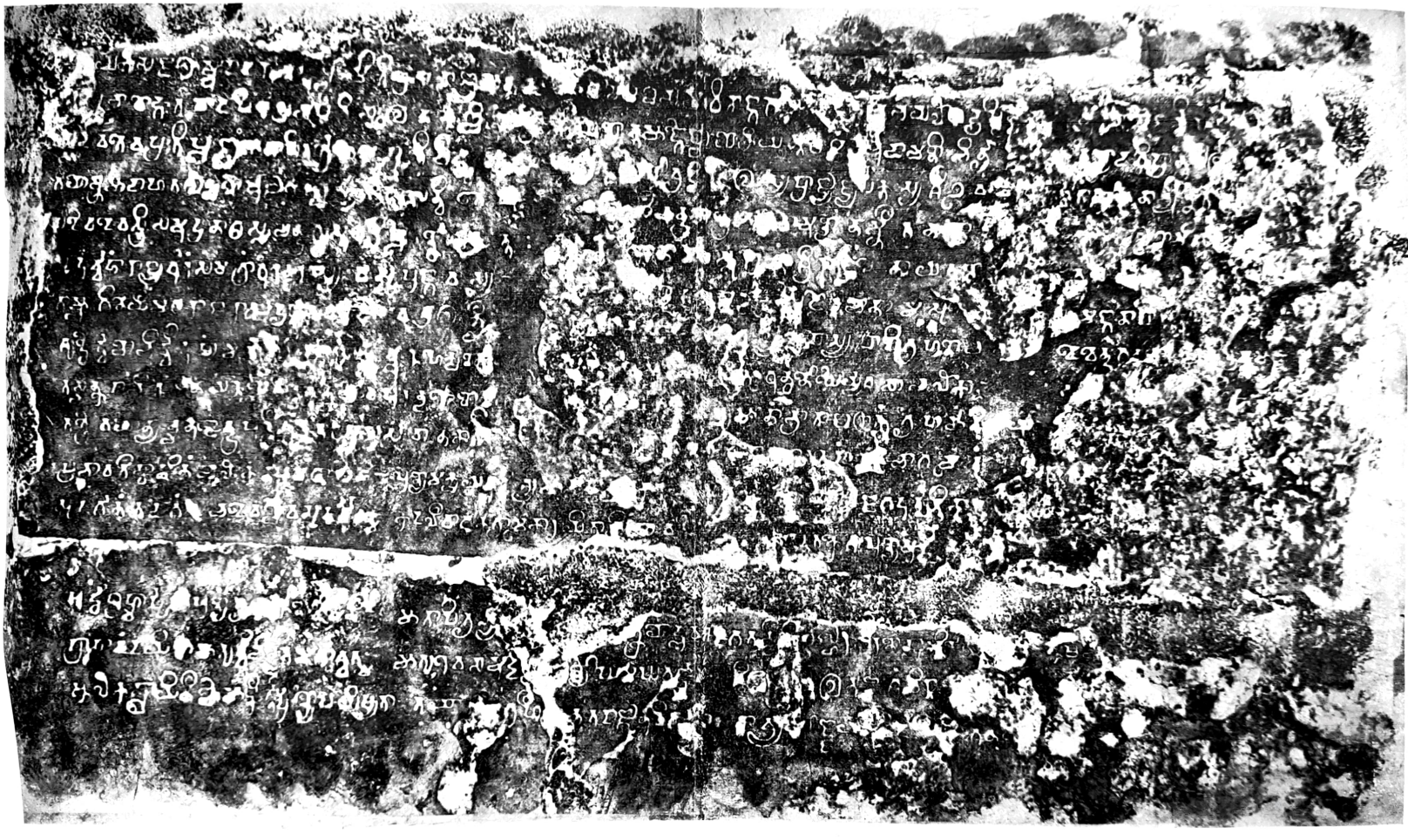
Pl. IV. 7



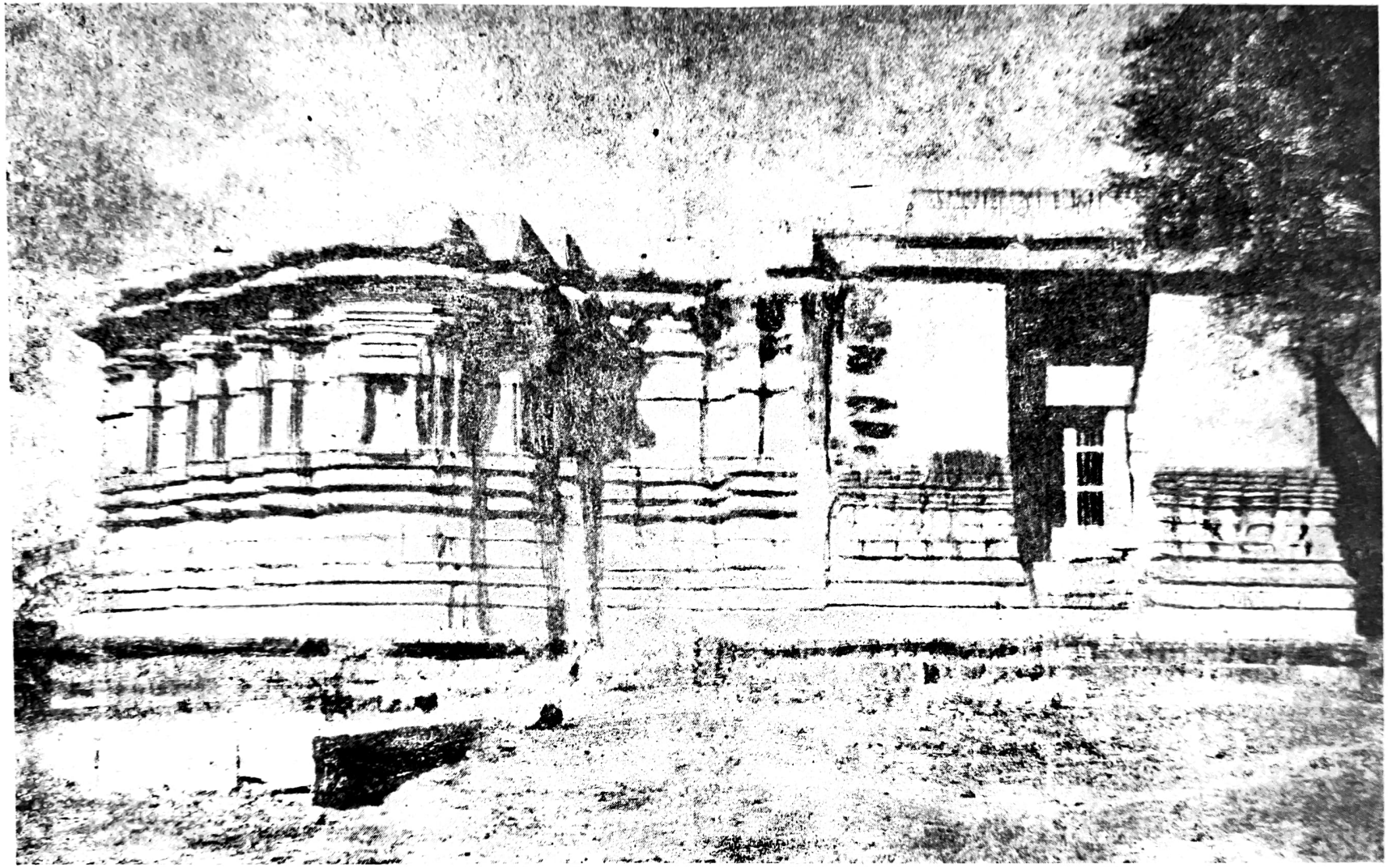
Pl. V. 8



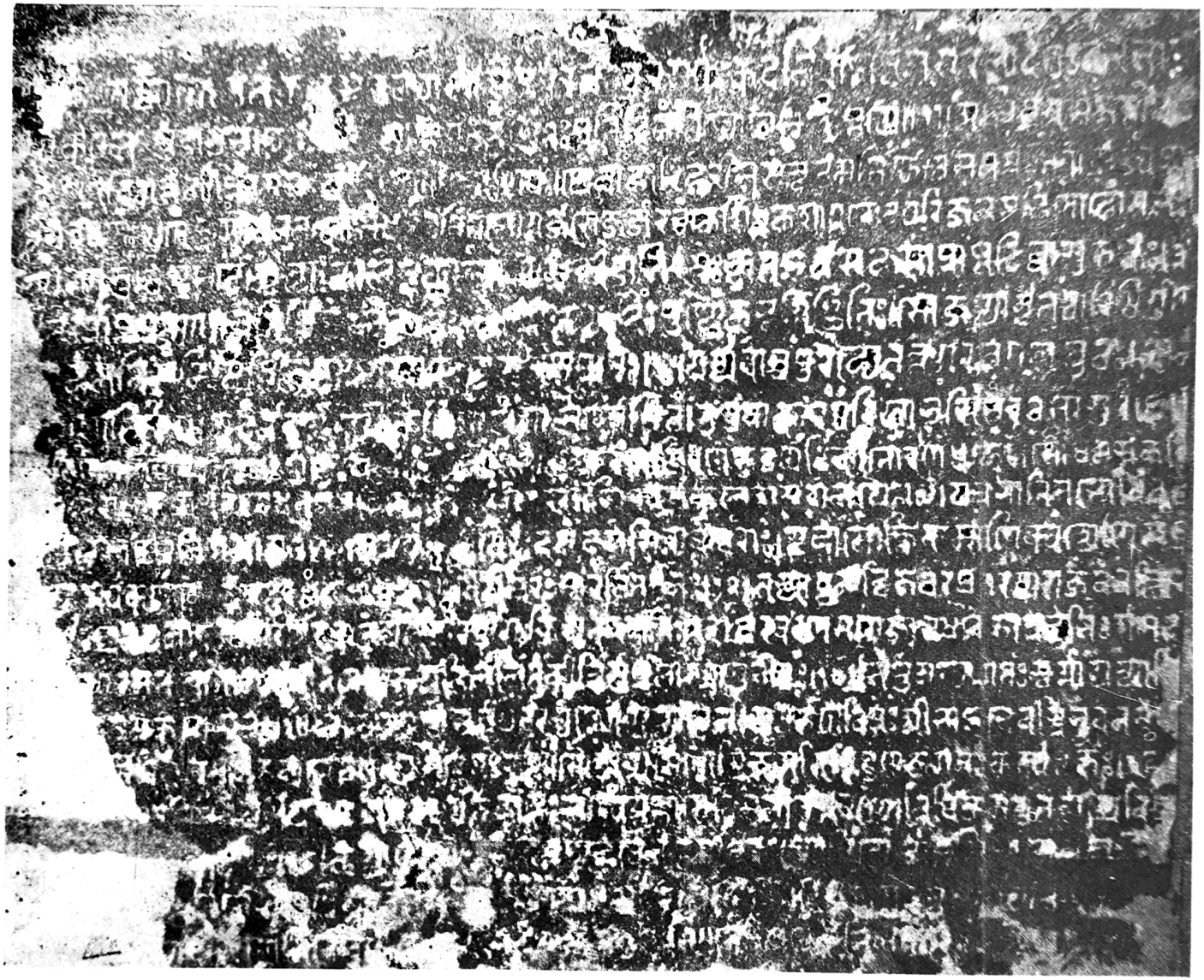
Pl. VI. 9



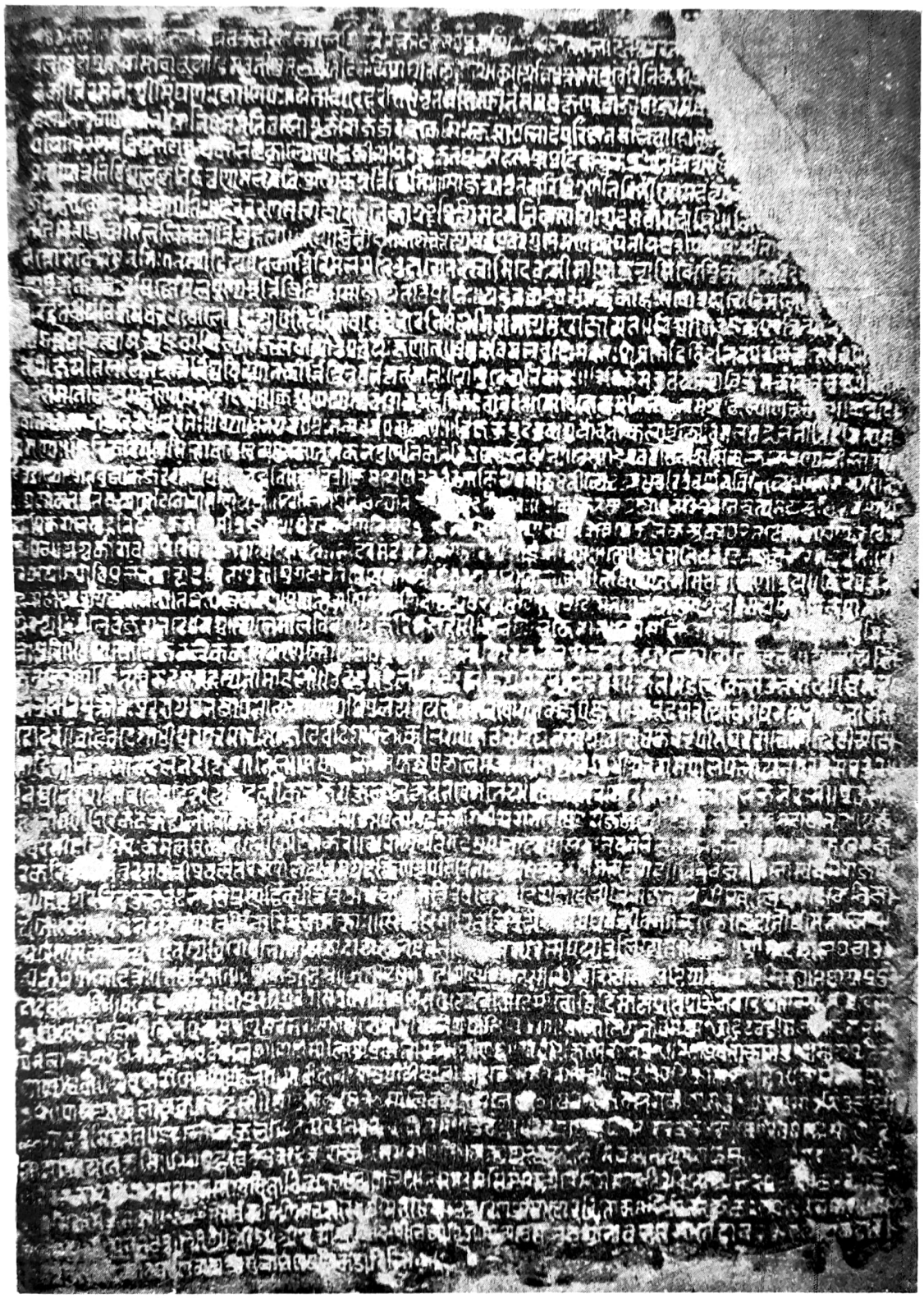
Pl. VIII. 10



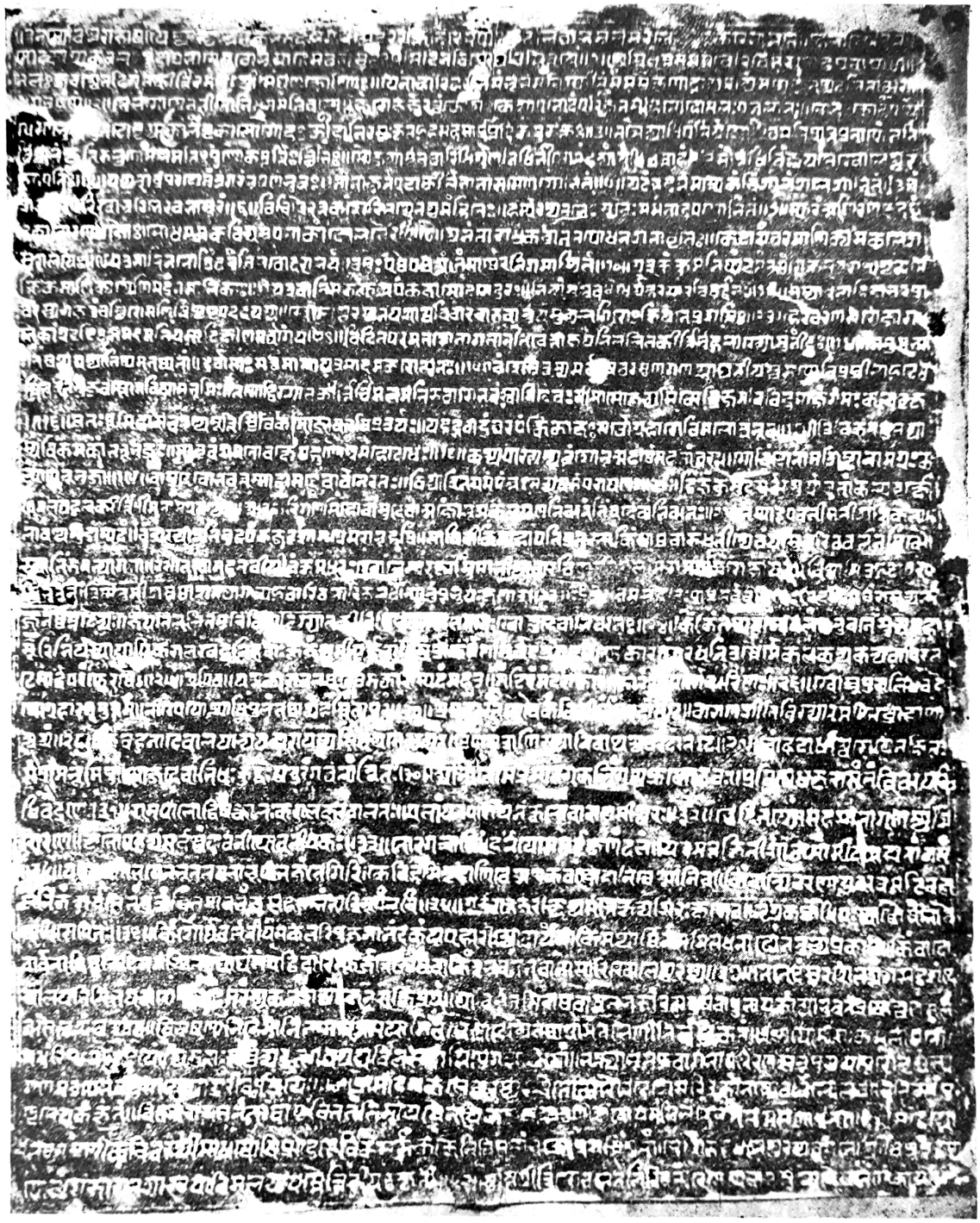
Pl. VIII. 11



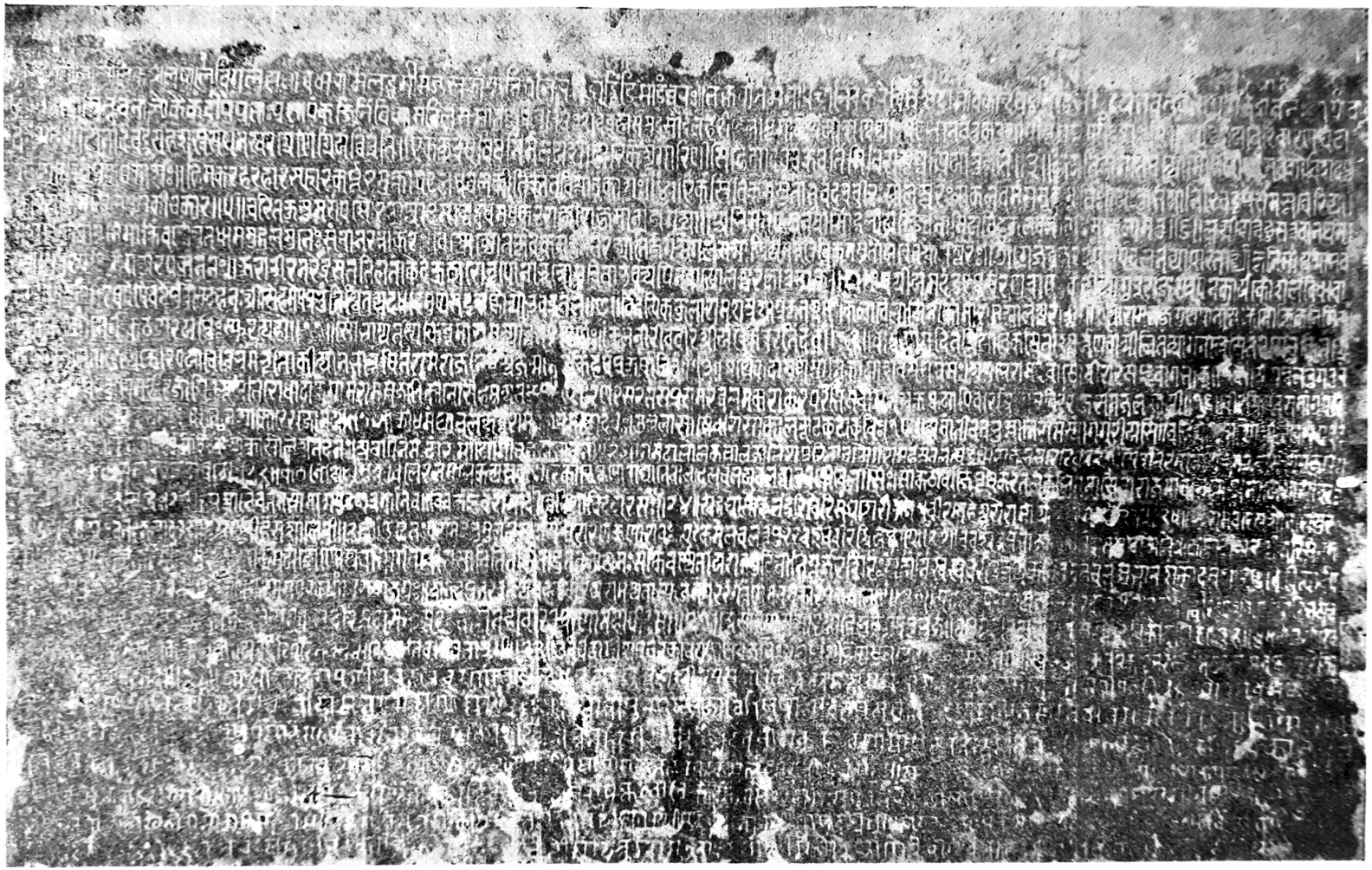
Pl. IX. 12



Pl. X. 13



Pl. XI. 14

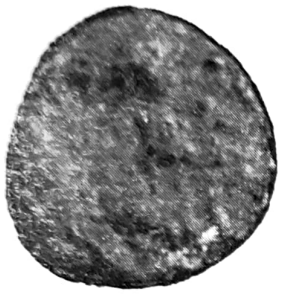


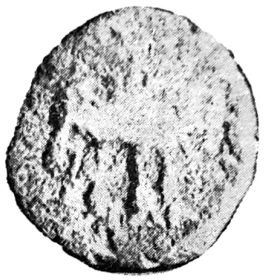
Pl. XII. 15

16

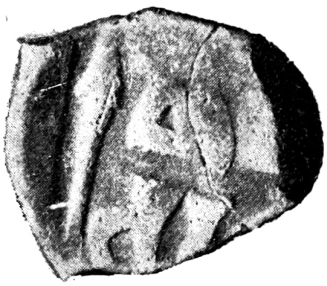
17

18





19



20

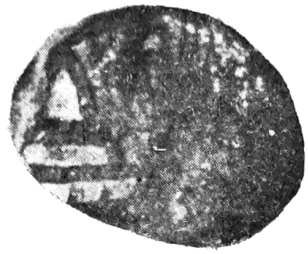
21

Pl. XIII. 16-21

22

23

24



25

26

27

28

Pl. XIV. 22-28

Ajay Mitra Shastri (born 1934) had a brilliant academic career. He took his Shastri degree from the Govt. Sanskrit College, now Sanskrit University, Varanasi (1953), Master's degree in Ancient Indian History and Culture from the Banaras Hindu University (1957), both in first class, Ph.D. and D. Litt. from Nagpur University in 1962 and 1987, respectively.

Dr. Shastri joined the Nagpur University as a Lecturer in Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology in 1957 and was subsequently appointed Reader (1965) and Professor (1977)

Professor Shastri's publications, including about 260 research papers, notes and reviews published in reputed journals, etc., have been well-received and some of them have won coveted literary awards.

Professor Shastri has been intimately associated with a number of professional instiutions in various capacities. He has acted as an Editor of the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*. and the *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India* and is presently editing the *Numismatic Digest* and is an Advisory Editor/member of the Editorial Board of a number of reputed journals including the *Journal of the Indian Academy of Numismatics and Sigillography* and *Prabhya Pratibha*. He is Convener of the inscriptions project of the Indian Council of Historical Research, Chairman of The Coin Society and Vice-Chairman of the Epigraphical Society of India.

Professor Shastri is a recipient of numerous national and international honours. He is Fellow of the Royal Numismatic Society and has been awarded Akbar Silver Medal by the Numismatic Society of India for his valuable contributions (1984). He has been Sectional President of the Indian History Congress (1978), Andhra Pradesh History Congress (1980) and Maharashtra Itihas Parishad (1986) and General President of Numismatic Society of India (1981). He was a UGC National Lecturer and is currently a UGC National Fellow. Recently he has been elected General President of the 14th annual congress of the Epigraphical Society of India. He has delivered a number of endowment and memorial lectures.

SUNDEEP PRAKASHAN
DELHI